The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume XXXI April, 1957 Number Two

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 74

THOMAS MUENTZER'S RELATION TO ANABAPTISM 75
Robert Friedmann

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ANABAPTISTS 88
Harold S. Bender

THE MENNONITE BOOK AND TRACT SOCIETY, 1892-1908 105
John A. Hostetler

RELIGION IN A JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITY IN HOKKAIDO 128
D. E. Lindstrom, G. Asano, H. Kataoka, and Lee Kanagy

RESEARCH NOTES 140

THE AMISH THEME IN RECENT AMERICAN THEATRICALS
Charles Burkhart

BOOK REVIEW 143

Lester Hostetler (Ed.), *The Youth Hymnary*
Reviewed by Mary Oyer

EDITORIAL

THE PLACE OF THOMAS MUENTZER, THE THURINGIAN REVOLUTIONARY PREACHER who perished in the Peasants' War in May, 1525, in the history of the Protestant Reformation is still the subject of controversy. Was he ever a true evangelical Lutheran, was he the founder of Anabaptism, was he a spiritualist, or only a social revolutionary? His repeated changes of position make a satisfactory definition difficult, and his latter end often obscures his earlier position. Most modern scholars agree that he was not an Anabaptist in the true sense, but there is some uncertainty as to whether he had any influence at all on emerging Anabaptism. Robert Friedmann, in his article in this issue, pursues this question in an objective attempt to find the truth, comparing the teaching of Müntzer and certain early Anabaptists with whom he had some contacts (Denk, Hut, and Rinck) on a number of theological loci. His findings are negative. But as he indicates in the closing note, the task is but begun and needs to be pursued to a definitive conclusion.

THE ESSAY ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ANABAPTISM WHICH APPEARS IN THIS issue is an attempt to present the main lines of historiographical development of Anabaptism in general. The more detailed historiography of Swiss Anabaptism is also given, but that of Dutch Anabaptism is omitted since the earlier article by Krahn (*MQR*, 18:195-224) on the historiography of Dutch Mennonitism covered this material up to 1944. The present article appears parallel to the corresponding articles in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II, though slightly revised.

THE HISTORY OF THE MENNONITE BOOK AND TRACT SOCIETY BY JOHN A. HOSTETler is part of a larger history of publishing in the Mennonite Church which is to appear in 1958 as a fiftieth anniversary volume for the Mennonite Publishing House. To some extent the Society represented an evangelistic endeavor, but it soon developed into a book publishing business in some competition with the established Mennonite Publishing Company at Elkhart, and thus reflects the dissatisfaction with the policies of John F. Funk and his company which led to the establishment of the Gospel Witness Company in 1905 and the ultimate eclipse of the Funk enterprise. Many of the more progressive men of the Mennonite Church of that period are to be found in its list of members; none of the strong Funk supporters, however, appear.

RELIGION IN A JAPANESE COMMUNITY BY LINDSTROM, ASANO, KATAOKA, AND Kanagy is published in the REVIEW because it presents the religious situation in which the American Mennonite mission in Hokkaido operates. It is a scientific study, done under the direction of the well-known rural sociologist of the University of Illinois with the valuable participation of two Japanese scholars and a Mennonite missionary. The study was made in the summer of 1955.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THOMAS MUENTZER'S RELATION TO ANABAPTISM

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

Thomas Müntzer was perhaps the most controversial figure of the period of the German Reformation, a man who has been called at various times the "beginner of the great Anabaptist movement," the forerunner of modern socialism, the beginner of the mystical-spiritualistic movement in Germany, a religious socialist, the leader in the Peasants' War 1525, and other such designations, none of which really fit this versatile man who during the decisive last five years of his life (1520-25) changed his position almost from year to year. Karl Holl's assertion[1] that most of the catchwords or slogans of the German Reformation during its formative period were made current by this fiery and restless mind is acceptable. Noble and deep thoughts mingle in his writings with rather coarse and rude expressions, not to say offensive passages; genuine spirituality alternates with fanciful inspirationism. At the end, in spite of his position as a preacher, one may legitimately ask: Was he still a Christian?

The literature about Müntzer is extensive but not too enlightening, providing for each author an occasion for personal interpretation of an ambiguous personality, thereby using categories often wanting in precision. Praise and blame, love and hatred speak from these writings, but no author seems able to be fully neutral and detached. Since Müntzer has quite persistently been called the "originator of the great Anabaptist movement" it is desirable that at this place a careful and objective study be undertaken to find out to what extent

1 Karl Holl, "Luther und die Schwärmer," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* I (2nd and 3rd editions, Tübingen, 1923).

such a claim is legitimate and what Müntzer's relationship to Anabaptism actually was.

Thomas Müntzer was born in Stollberg in the Harz Mountains *ca.* 1488-89. He received a good academic education which familiarized him with the Bible and the mystics, and with Plato and St. Augustine and the classic Christian writers, which were required in higher education at that time. He had a brilliant and dynamic mind. In 1513 he became a Catholic priest, was soon promoted to be provost *(Propst)* of a monastery, and in 1519 he became father-confessor of a nunnery. It was about that time that he also became acquainted with Martin Luther. In 1520 he was a priest in Zwickau (Saxony), where he met Nicolaus Storch, the inspirationist and "prophet" who proclaimed that the Bible is secondary to the direct revelation of God to His chosen servants. Müntzer felt strongly akin to this viewpoint and began now also to develop his own doctrine of the "spirit." Soon unrest and disturbances set in (they were to follow this man from now on wherever he chanced to preach) and he had to flee the city in April 1521.

Next we find Müntzer in Prague (until February 1522), where he drew up the strong "Prague Manifesto" in four different versions, two in German, one in Czech, and one in Latin. This Manifesto was the real program for his further life. He wanted to start a "new church," the church of the spirit.[2] He called it the "spirit of the fear of God." The German and Czech versions of the Manifesto appealed to the plain people *(Am Volk zweifle ich nicht);* the Latin version, much milder, addressed itself to the scholars, the humanistically educated readers. The Manifesto is a visionary document, but like all of Müntzer's later writings it is confused and without any clear-cut orientation. Certainly, its program was not Scriptural in any concrete sense. Müntzer had little success in Bohemia, the old land of John Hus, and as he left it he began a period of restless wandering. He passed through Wittenberg during Luther's absence in the Wartburg and lodged in the home of Carlstadt, who was quite sympathetic to some of his ideas but unwilling to go all the way with him.

From Easter of 1523 until August 1524 Müntzer was a priest or preacher (things were still fluid in these years) in Allstedt, a small town in the Harz area, in the neighborhood of rich ore mines which produced a restless class of miners *(Bergknappen),* always eager to promote social change. His sermons were attended allegedly by 2,000 hearers even though Allstedt had hardly more than a few hundred population. In Allstedt he now wrote a number of liturgical

2 Heinrich Böhmer and Paul Kirn, *Thomas Müntzers Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, 1931) 141.

tracts concerning (infant) baptism and the German mass.[3] These liturgical writings are a clear indication that his reforms were a deviation from Catholicism in degree only and not in substance. It seems that at first he did not propose at all the establishment of a completely new church. He distributed the sacraments in both elements (instead of the one of the Catholic practice) and read the mass in German interspersed by German hymns instead of using the Latin—that is all. As for baptism the records are contradictory; some say that every two months he baptized all the infants, others that he postponed baptism until the children were six or seven years of age.[3a] He never in his life baptized adults.

In Allstedt he married, like Luther, a former nun, and reared children. This fact seems to indicate his break with the old church, but one cannot claim that the new church in Allstedt was "Protestant" or "Lutheran" in any specific sense. The Reformation was still in its formative years. For the time being he had not yet broken with Luther; in fact, he sent him a rather conciliatory letter on July 9, 1523.[4] In this same year he also wrote a letter to his brethren in faith in Stollberg.[5] Of all his writings this letter breathes a spirit nearest to the evangelical spirit of the later Anabaptists. It is the only document of this kind.[6]

Unfortunately, he soon pursued other directions: in the winter of 1523-24 he founded the Allstedt League, a strange conspiratorial society which was to carry out the Prague program, if necessary even with violence. Here Müntzer lost altogether his sense of reality and embarked on a road of romantic fanaticism. Luther recognized this correctly when he called Müntzer a *Schwärmer* (fanatic). Now he was speaking of a new church which should be radical; according to its principles "ungodly people" should not be allowed to exist. Soon a nearby Catholic chapel went up in flames—the records do not say who caused it.

The two princes of Saxony, Duke John and Prince Elector Frederick the Wise, were embarrassed by Müntzer and did not know what to do, being themselves all in favor of the Lutheran reforms. Therefore as they passed through Allstedt they invited Müntzer to

3 *Deutsch Kirchenampt* (Alstedt, n.d.), *Deutsch Euangelisch Messze* (Alstedt, 1524), *Ordnung und berechnunge des teulschen Ampts zu Alstedt*, Alstedt, 1524), reprinted in E. Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, I (Leipzig, 1902) 470-507.

3a U. Heberle, "Die Anfänge des Anabaptismus in der Schweiz," *Jahrbücher der deutschen Theologie*, III (1858) 255, and after him Usteri, "Oekolampads Stellung zur Kindertaufe," in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* LVI (1883) 156, claim that Müntzer baptized children every second or third month, while Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen von 1526-1584* (Jena, 1913) 14, says that Müntzer baptized children only when six or seven years old.

4 Böhmer-Kirn, *op. cit.*, 42-44.

5 *Ibid.*, 44 f.

6 This letter is carefully analyzed by Annemarie Lohmann, *Zur geistigen Entwicklung Thomas Müntzers* (Leipzig, 1931) 36-40.

preach for them and explain his theology. On July 13, 1524, he preached in the castle in the presence of the princes his famous "Sermon on Daniel."[7] In it he claimed that the authorities were given the sword to eradicate the ungodly, but insisted that if they did not do their duty the sword would be taken away from them (Dan. 7) and given to the people; "for the ungodly have no right to live except as the elect grant it to them."[8] Obviously the princes were now even more confused than before and asked Luther for advice. No persecution was considered for the moment, as Luther still advised lenience. But unrest in Allstedt (as always in his wake) prompted Müntzer to flee at night over the city walls. On August 15, 1524, he arrived in Mühlhausen, Thuringia, and soon became a preacher in a church here. This city was to become his real misfortune, for here he met another preacher, Heinrich Pfeiffer,[9] who might be called a real social-revolutionary somewhat comparable to John Ball of the English Peasants' War of 1381. Soon the Mühlhausen city council was overthrown and things looked almost like events ten years later in Münster. But after two months, early in October 1524, Müntzer had no other choice but to flee again. This time he turned southward, stopping briefly in Nürnberg where he met Hans Denk, then the rector of the School at St. Sebald's. Müntzer's fiery mysticism might have impressed this sensitive man, but his stay was too short to produce any major influence upon him. In Nürnberg Müntzer also had two new tracts of his printed (though not at this moment): the *Hochverursachte Schutzrede* (a vitriolic pamphlet in which he called Luther *das geistlose, sanftlebende Fleisch zu Wittenberg*) which passionately attacked the Protestant doctrine of original sin, and the *Ausgetrückte Emplössung des falschen Glaubens,* of which more is to be said later.

November and December 1524 Müntzer spent in the South, in Griessen in the Klettgau (Swabia) near Schaffhausen, and in Basel, Switzerland, where he was the guest of Oecolampadius and Hugwald. Not much is known about these eight weeks of restless wandering, but it may be assumed that they merely increased his "prophetic" fancies. Bullinger's[10] claim that he met and converted Hubmaier on this trip is without any foundation and is rather unlikely, even though Griessen is only 15 miles distant from Waldshut, where Hubmaier was then living.[11]

7 *Die Fürstenpredigt. Auslegung des andern Unterschieds Daniels des Propheten* (Allstedt, 1524), reprinted in O. H. Brandt, *Thomas Müntzer, Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Jena, 1933) 148-63.

8 Exodus 23.

9 O. Merx, *Thomas Müntzer und Heinrich Pfeiffer 1523-1525* (Göttingen, 1889).

10 *Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte,* I (Frauenfeld, 1838) 224.

11 C. Sachsse, *D. Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1914) 153 f.

In February 1525 Müntzer was back in Mühlhausen, to which city Heinrich Pfeiffer had returned by the end of December 1524. At this point of his development Müntzer placed his last hope and chance of carrying out his apocalyptic program upon the rebellious peasants. Between February and May of this year 1525 he may rightly be called the preacher of the peasants, encouraging them mainly during the last three weeks to violent action, expecting at any moment the great cataclysmic crisis of mankind. On May 15 the tragic battle at Frankenhausen was fought (or rather not fought but suffered by the confused and discouraged peasants), followed by the senseless massacre which ended the Peasants' War in Thuringia. Müntzer, who tried to hide, was caught, imprisoned, and soon tortured to make him yield a full confession of all his misdeeds. He recanted, accepted the mass according to Catholic rites, and wrote a farewell letter to his followers in Mühlhausen which is a complete turnabout from his former position.[12] On May 27, 1525, he was beheaded. His symbol and heraldic sign had always been "a red cross and a naked sword."

I think that this brief biographical sketch has made it amply evident that Müntzer could not possibly have been the "beginner and originator of the great Anabaptist movement" (as in our day Heinrich Böhmer and Karl Holl have repeatedly claimed). In view, however, of the persistency of this claim further discussion is needed. We may distinguish here between the factual and pragmatic evidence on the one hand, and on the other, the possible influences from the viewpoint of a history of ideas where evidence is usually of a more indirect nature.

(A) Factual evidence is almost completely lacking. Harold S. Bender[13] has proved it with great thoroughness. The legend of such causal influences started with Bullinger in his *Der Widertöufferen Ursprung* (Zürich, 1560), where he claims that Müntzer was the beginner of Anabaptism "down there in Saxony." That was written 35 years after Müntzer's death and without any documentation. Bullinger also says that Hubmaier was "completely confused by Müntzer" *(er sey durch ihn ganz verkehrt worden)*, again without further proof. The fact is that Bullinger in none of his earlier books ever mentioned such a theory, and it must be assumed that he more or less invented it later. Bender's conjecture that he did so for the purpose of freeing the Zürich Reformed Church from any "reproach" that Anabaptism had its origin in Zürich—is most likely correct.

Unfortunately, Bullinger's invention was an appealing theory

12 Böhmer-Kirn, *op. cit.*, 127 f.
13 H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950) 198 f. *et passim.*

and has been repeated many times ever since, in part perhaps because the Müntzer story is so much better known than the story of the early Anabaptists. Neither Holl nor Böhmer seems to have been very familiar with the origins of Anabaptism (e.g., Conrad Grebel); hence they were inclined to follow the pattern which was first set by Martin Luther, namely, to lump together all nonconformists, left-wing groups and individuals as fanatics (*Schwärmer*), without much discrimination of categories. Since the tragic events of Münster (1534-35) provided evidence that violence could also develop in connection with some forms of Anabaptism (though not with the evangelical type) there was little hesitation to give Bullinger full credence.

What are the facts? Müntzer himself never baptized adults; in fact he somewhat minimized the significance of baptism in general. "Neither Mary, the mother of God, nor the disciples of Christ had ever been baptized with water."[14] True baptism takes place only through the Holy Spirit. To be sure, he also says, "As they made babes into Christians, Christians became likewise children"[15] but nowhere does he follow up this idea, and for all practical purposes continued to baptize children, either as infants or as six- and seven-year-olds. In 1524 he published a new baptismal liturgy, *Von der Tauff wie man die heldt* (dealing with infant baptism, of course). Annemarie Lohmann, who carefully analyzed the issue, says that adult baptism was definitely contrary to Müntzer's basic ideas.[16] Nevertheless, she too speculates that it was perhaps "Müntzer's interpretation of the cross as a sort of baptism" which might have influenced people who were then seeking "an external symbol for the inner baptism of the cross." But then she continues, "All this is, of course, but a conjecture and lacks any proof."[17] It is not very clear how this connection is to be understood.

Now as to concrete contacts. First of all, the very first act of adult baptism took place in Zürich in January 1525, when contacts with Müntzer were out of the question. His sojourn in Switzerland in December 1524 did not produce any known contact with the Conrad Grebel circle in Zürich.[18] Moreover the long letter by Grebel to Müntzer of September 5, 1524,[19] shows that Grebel and his friends were familiar with Müntzer's two earlier tracts, *Von dem getichten Glauben,* and *Protestation odder Empiettung* (both written in Allstedt, 1524). Both these tracts were still rather moderate in tone,

14 *Protestation oder Entbietung Thomae Müntzers* (n.p., 1524) in Brandt, *op. cit.*, 135.
15 *Ibid.*, 136.
16 Lohmann, *op. cit.*, 48.
17 *Ibid.*, 49.
18 Bender, *op. cit.*, 110-19.
19 Böhmer-Kirn, *op. cit.*, 92-101.

the former dealing in the main with the idea of the "cross," the other criticizing infant baptism. Grebel now wrote that he was glad to find in these tracts some familiar ideas and he welcomed Müntzer as a brother in the spirit. But then he reproached Müntzer on two points: one, his emphasis upon church liturgy *(Deutsche Messe),* and two, because of certain rumors that Müntzer was advocating the use of the sword. This the Grebel friends emphatically opposed and therefore warned the unknown "brother" not to continue in this way. Müntzer never received this letter, and the Grebel circle had no further knowledge about Müntzer's activities. Thus nothing can be deduced from this letter, except that no real contact existed and that Zürich went ahead with their new brotherhood of regenerated Christians independently of anything outside their circle. The same holds true with regard to Müntzer's supposed influence on Hubmaier (who was baptized by Reublin at Easter of 1525), Bullinger's claim notwithstanding.

Three additional possible contacts must be investigated: Hans Denk, Hans Hut, and Melchior Rinck. (1) Müntzer's contact with Denk in Nürnberg was very brief and superficial; moreover it had nothing to do with Denk's later turn to Anabaptism and can therefore be dismissed at this place. (2) The situation with regard to Hans Hut, however, is different. He must be called a former friend of Müntzer who supposedly spent even a few days in Hut's home in Bibra. Hut then received a manuscript from Müntzer, the *Ausgetrückte Emplössung des falschen Glaubens* (1524), and was asked to manage its publication. (Hut as a book peddler might have been better acquainted with printers willing to risk such a publication. Hut thereupon approached the journeymen of the Nürnberg printer Hans Hergott, who in the absence of the master actually printed the pamphlet clandestinely. When the councilmen of Nürnberg heard of it, the journeymen and Hut were imprisoned and the book was destroyed. (Only one or two copies survived.) In his court trial in 1527 Hut openly admitted this act. Was he then a Müntzerite? To some extent, yes, mainly with regard to Müntzer's apocalyptic expectations that the end of this world-aeon had drawn near and that the new era was about to come at any moment, indicated by wars and rumors of war. Müntzer's apocalypticism seems to have appealed to Hut's frame of mind, but Müntzer's doctrine of the sword he declined from the very beginning. At the battle of Frankenhausen Hut was present, whether as an itinerant book peddler or as a curious onlooker is hard to say. He had no part whatever in the events and soon left. A year later, in the spring of 1526, in Augsburg, he was baptized

by Hans Denk and became truly a "new man." It might be argued that in spite of his conversion, Hut nevertheless promoted certain Müntzerite ideas throughout his itinerant activities as an Anabaptist missionary up to his early death in 1527.

What about this argument with its crucial bearing on the question of Müntzer's relation to later Anabaptism? True enough, Hut preached "the cross," that is, the suffering church, and in this message sounded somewhat like a Müntzerite. But an analysis reveals that it is only the key word "cross" which is the same as with Müntzer; its meaning, however, is very different with Hut, as will be shown presently. The same holds true with regard to Hut's "spiritualism," i.e., the idea that the Word of God can be interpreted rightly only by those who are filled by a spirit akin to that of the Holy Scriptures. No word of direct inspiration or of dreams can be found in all of Hut's teaching, as far as they have become known. Again, the key word "spirit" is the same, but the content is different. If Hut was a "spiritualist," he was a Biblical one, as were Michael Sattler and all the early Anabaptists, but he really was not a spiritualist at all. Müntzer, on the other hand, was an inspirationist (like David Joris a decade or so later), and understood the idea of the "spirit" much more subjectively than any Anabaptist. To him the "inward scripture" outbade the "Holy Scripture."[20] Lydia Müller thinks that this was also the position of at least some leading Anabaptists[21] but is actually unable to prove it. Anabaptists at no time minimized the unconditional Biblical faith.[22]

Finally, it is known that Hut passionately opposed the "sword." In Nikolsburg in 1526 he debated this issue with Hubmaier, who defended the use of the sword under certain conditions. When Hut saw the impasse he left Nikolsburg, continuing his Anabaptist mission of cross and love. Thus Hut cannot be a useful witness for Bullinger's theory and its late defenders, even though some common key words actually appear in both camps. It is their meaning which matters, not the terms as such.

(3) There remains one last contact with later Anabaptism: Melchior Rinck. This contact is a real one. Rinck was openly a Müntzerite, and in fact he even boasted that God had spared him at Frankenhausen that he might carry out Müntzer's plans more successfully and bring them to a happy end.[23] He apparently owed to Müntzer his first spiritual awakening and was grateful for that, but it is most

20 *Prague Manifesto,* Böhmer-Kirn, *op. cit.,* 145.

21 L. Müller, *Der Kommunismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1927) 76.

22 See W. Wiswedel, "The Inner and Outer Word, A Study in the Anabaptist Doctrine of Scripture," *MQR* XXV (1952) 171-91.

23 Paul Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen* (Jena, 1913) 52.

likely that he understood only certain parts of Müntzer's message. Rinck's own later writings do not continue Müntzer's fancies concerning dreams and the violent overthrow of the ungodly. After becoming an Anabaptist in May 1527 at Worms as a result of his contact with Hans Denk and Jakob Kautz, he became one of the most effective leaders of early Anabaptism in Thuringia, until he, too, experienced the very cross of all true confessors in martyrdom sometime after 1545, having been in prison since 1531. In no way may he be called a "beginner" of Anabaptism or even one of its leading figures. And after becoming an Anabaptist he shows no trace whatever of Müntzer's ideas. He could not have been a channel of transmission of these ideas into Anabaptism.

(B) But what about indirect influence on later Anabaptism by Müntzer's writings, a sort of underground continuation of Müntzer's ideas? A brief review of some of the major points of possible contacts and similarities in the realm of ideas between Müntzer and the Anabaptists will reveal the following observations.

Cross. To Müntzer the cross meant two things: outwardly human suffering through sickness, poverty, etc., and the hostility of people,[63] and inwardly *Anfechtung,* i.e., doubt, error, and unbelief.[24a] A "cross" of such a kind is utterly foreign to Anabaptists, who become "disciples of Christ" only through rebirth and determination to follow the commandments of Christ. On the other hand, suffering for the sake of truth, the idea of a "church under the cross" (Grebel) never occurred to Müntzer, who had no revealed truth in the first place to be witnessed to and no church either. Thus even though the term "cross" appears frequently in Müntzer's writings—sometimes also called "the bitter Christ" (vs. the "sweet Christ" of Luther)—it means something different. When he vaguely indicates that whoever experiences the cross experiences inner spiritual baptism,[25] that idea is not in itself to be equated with the Anabaptist doctrine of the cross, but rather meant an inner anguish on account of the Christian faith.

Love. Next to the cross, love is certainly a key word of Anabaptism. What had Müntzer to say about this? Here Annemarie Lohmann aptly states that "the idea of love drops inadvertently into the background,"[26] all the more when Müntzer preached the needed eradication of the ungodly. Müntzer was first a mystic, later a revolutionary, but at no time a "disciple" of the Master who commanded

24 *Protestation . . .* (chap. 17), Brandt, *op. cit.,* 142.
24a "Ich wollte gern glauben, aber der Unglauben erdrückt alle meine Begier," *ibid.,* 142.
25 Lohmann, *op. cit.,* 47 f.
26 Lohmann, *op. cit.,* 33.

His followers to spread His great new law, brotherly love. For it, Müntzer had very little interest, indeed, this term is conspicuously absent in his writings.

Spirit. To a certain extent all early Anabaptists had a good share of spiritualism in their understanding of the Holy Scriptures;[27] but the latter remained the rock foundation upon which they built their faith. No fanatical dreaming can ever be found among them, and Lydia Müller's claim that the appreciation of the Scriptural Word drops into the background with the Anabaptists just as with Müntzer[28] is simply a misstatement, since she confounds the occasional Anabaptist term "inner word" with Müntzer's inspirationism.[29]

Gelassenheit, i.e., yielding to the will of God and not following one's own imaginations, was a frequent term in Müntzer's earlier writings when he was still under the influence of the German mystics, and also a central idea with the Anabaptists. Müntzer had learned a great deal from these German mystics, through whose writings he apparently grew spiritually in the earlier period of his life. But soon he gave it up. It was "basically against his very nature," says J. Zimmermann[30] which nature was unrest, passion, activity, and challenge. A man who wanted to kill all the ungodly could have little *Gelassenheit,* even though he might have preached it as an ideal.

Adult baptism. Concerning this little needs to be added. Müntzer was not interested in it (as so many radical spiritualists were not), and would hardly have understood its new meaning with the Anabaptists as a sealing of the inner rebirth, making men determined to walk the narrow path of discipleship.

Lord's Supper. Remembering his liturgical tracts (*Deutsche Messe*) it becomes evident that to Müntzer the celebration lacked completely the Anabaptist meaning of a symbol of sharing, akin to the "love-feast" idea of the earliest Christians. Lohmann expressly states that Müntzer's tracts were extremely "conservative" in character, i.e., nearer to a modified Catholicism than to Lutheranism or any radical idea. For that reason he continued to the end to speak of the mass and not of the Lord's Supper.

Church. This is perhaps the most difficult item of all, and has never been fully studied. Most authors think that here at least are to be found similarities with Anabaptism. The Anabaptist idea is that of a voluntary, free church of genuine believers as opposed to the

27 R. Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (Goshen, 1949) 79-83; and *idem,* "A Communication," *MQR* XXVIII (1954) 148-54.

28 Müller, *op. cit.,* 75.

29 Wiswedel, *op, cit.,* 171-91; also *Menn. Encycl.* I, art. "Bible, Inner and Outer Word," by Wiswedel.

30 J. Zimmermann, *Thomas Münzer, Ein Deutsches Schicksal* (Berlin, n.d., 1925) 28.

ecclesiastical institution of both Catholicism and Lutheranism (state church, people's church). A careful analysis, however, will destroy even this most persistent argument. To be sure, in the Prague Manifesto of 1521 Müntzer passingly said that in Bohemia the "new church" would arise.[31] It was to be the church of the new aeon, the church without the ungodly, an apocalyptic vision, no concrete reality. This is theory. But what was Müntzer's practice? First, he remained to the very end of his life a priest-preacher both in Allstedt and in Mühlhausen city churches, and hence never actually opposed an institution of that kind (either Catholic or Lutheran in nature). Second, his Allstedt League was anything but an Anabaptist brotherhood; it was rather a conspiratorial secret society to promote the imminently expected kingdom of God by means of wiping out, if need be by the sword, all (Catholic) superstition—a chapel was burned down—and all ungodliness. Of a restitution of the primitive church in the Anabaptist sense there is no trace whatever, since Müntzer completely lacked the idea or vision of discipleship and obedience to the Word of God.

It is true that at times Müntzer also taught that the true reign of Christ could come only by genuine *kenosis,* that is, emptying oneself of all worldly desires and humbling oneself to the will of God. Phil. 2:7. But then he contradicted himself by claiming (at another place) that those who were prepared by the "fear of God" were now entitled to reign and rule, for they alone knew the will of God. Obviously no doctrine of the church could follow from such a confused theology. Since he continued as a state-church preacher, it cannot be claimed that the "believers' church" originated with Müntzer.

Eschatology. This may be omitted here, since it is but marginal with the Anabaptists. Hans Hut, to be sure, was much attracted by it, but when it came to preaching the new birth and discipleship he voluntarily restrained himself and kept his apocalyptic ideas silent. With Müntzer it was the exact opposite. Only by these ideas about the change of the world did he find an inner justification for all his violent and revolutionary actions.

In summary we may agree with Annemarie Lohmann that the years 1524-25 appallingly show how this erstwhile mystically minded man, who knew so much about suffering and human tragedy, became more and more shallow (*Verflachung*). Since all of his six major tracts and sermons date from 1524, it is after all this Müntzer whom we have to consider first, not the man of the Prague Manifesto (1521),

31 "Hier wird die neue Kirche angehn," Böhmer-Kirn, *op. cit.,* 142.

confused and equivocal though this document also appears. This weakening of Müntzer's former spiritual position is a tragedy in itself, the result not of any *kenosis* but of a self-centered and romantic fanaticism.

That Müntzer represented a tremendous spiritual power for his time, being a passionate awakener, is true enough. That he was a "beginner of Anabaptism" in any sense whatever is, however, just as incorrect as the popular opposite claim which sees in him a forerunner of modern socialism.[32] Since his writings are contradictory, such attitudes might be read into them; but all these interpretations do very little justice to his true genius.

But what was Müntzer then, after all? Were it not for his activism, Müntzer might be placed beside David Joris, the inspirationist. His activism, however, with all its hazy orientation toward a goal to be achieved by the sword, brings him into the neighborhood of the kingdom of Münster of 1534-35. Müntzer had nothing essential in common with evangelical Anabaptism, which arose when he was about to pass from the scene, and which became victorious simply by being a "church under the cross."[33]

Bibliographical note: The literature about Müntzer is so extensive that not more than a few of the most important items can be offered here. Karl Holl, "Luther und die Schwärmer" in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (2nd and 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1923) 420-46; Heinrich Böhmer, "Thomas Müntzer und das jüngste Deutschland," in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Gotha, 1927) 187-222; H. Böhmer and P. Kirn, *Thomas Müntzers Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, 1931, containing also the four versions of the *Prague Manifesto);* Otto Clemen, "Das Prager Manifest Thomas Müntzers," *Arch. f. Ref. Gesch.* (1933) 73-81; Joachim Zimmermann, *Thomas Münzer, ein deutsches Schicksal* (Berlin, 1925); Annemarie Lohmann, *Zur geistigen Entwicklung Thomas Müntzers* (Leipzig, 1931), the best work of all; Otto H. Brandt, *Thomas Müntzer, Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Jena, 1933), an excellent edition of Müntzer's tracts in modernized German together with other source material; Carl Hinrichs, *Thomas Müntzer. Politische*

32 For this claim compare the works named at the end of the bibliographical note. Also Karl Kautsky, *Die Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus* (Stuttgart, 1895).

33 This study is here submitted as a suggestion, and in no way as the final word on this subject. No special study, as far as I know, has ever been made to analyze Müntzer's teachings, to discover what influence, if any, he might have had upon certain early Anabaptists. I do not claim to propose here a definite solution to this question; rather I would invite other scholars to react to my presentation as a sort of challenge, and to continue the discussion on the basis of primary research.

Two problems in particular have been called to my attention by my friend Dr. Heinold Fast of Emden, Germany, as in need of further clarification; namely, first Müntzer's doctrine of justification (*Rechtfertigungslehre,* or rather *Gerechtmachungslehre),* which is said to be rather similar to what Anabaptists taught (if they taught anything in that direction); and second, the concept of the Spirit as held by Müntzer and Hans Hut, the latter of whom had previously also taught that the Scriptures were not needed to receive the Spirit. I myself doubt any influence from Müntzer on either point but I am not in a position to prove the opposite with finality. A third, and more important problem, is the possible influence of Müntzer's writings on Hans Denk, which has been raised by Walter Fellmann's comment in his edition of *Hans Denck Schriften. 2. Teil* (Gütersloh, 1956) p. 6, where he says, "Die literarische Abhängigkeit von der Mystik Müntzers ist auffallend." Fellmann cites twenty-four passages from Müntzer, of which he claims to have found echoes (*Anklänge*) in Denk's writings.

Schriften mit Kommentar (Halle, 1950), contains Müntzer's last three and most important writings; *idem, Luther und Müntzer* (Berlin, 1952); H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950) 198 f. and *passim; idem,* "The Zwickau Prophets, Thomas Müntzer and the Anabaptists," *MQR* XXVII (1953) 3-16 (basic); W. Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum* I (Kassel, 1928); *idem,* "War Thomas Müntzer wirklich der Urheber der grossen Taufbewegung?" in *Mühlhauser Geschichtsblätter* XXX (1929) 268-73; *idem,* "Inner and Outer Word," *MQR* XXVI (1952) 171-93; also *Mennonite Encyclopedia* I (1955), "Bible, Inner and Outer Word"; K. Schulz, "Thomas Müntzers liturgische Bestrebungen," *Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.* XLVII (1928); Paul Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen* (Jena, 1913); W. Metzger, *Müntzeriana, Thüringisch-Sächsische Ztscht f. Gesch. u. Kunst* XVI (1927).

The Böhmer school produced the following monographs, in all of which Heinrich Böhmer's thesis concerning Müntzer as the beginner of the Anabaptist movement is discussed and conditionally respected: K. Ecke, *Schwenckfeld, Luther und der Gedanke einer apostolischen Reformation* (Berlin, 1911); H. Neusser, *Hans Huth* (Berlin, 1913); C. Sachsse, *D. Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1914); Lydia Müller, *Der Kommunismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1928); Annemarie Lohmann, *Zur geistigen Entwicklung Thomas Müntzers* (Leipzig, 1931).

A considerable number of socialist-Marxist studies on Müntzer have appeared since Friedrich Engels' work on the great Peasants' War. The latest book is by a Soviet-Russian scholar, M. M. Smirin, *Die Volksreformation des Thomas Müntzer und der grosse Bauernkrieg* (Berlin, 1952), 675 pages, in which the author distinguishes between the "Reformation of the princes" (Luther) and the "Reformation of the working people" (Müntzer); A. Meusel, *Thomas Müntzer und seine Zeit* (Berlin, 1952) repeats the same idea. Of similar character are the earlier volumes: P. Friedländer, *Thomas Münzer (Redner der Revolution, Vol. VI,* Berlin, 1926), and L. G. Walter, *Thomas Münzer,* 1489-1525, *et Les Luttes Sociales à l'Epoque de la Réforme* (Paris, 1927); and to a lesser extent Michael Freund, *Thomas Müntzer. Revolution als Glaube, Eine Auswahl aus den Schriften Thomas Müntzers und Martin Luthers zur religiösen Revolution und zum deutschen Bauernkrieg (Deutsche Schriften,* Vol. V, Potsdam, 1936); K. Kleinschmidt, *Thomas Müntzer* (Leipzig, 1952).

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ANABAPTISTS

HAROLD S. BENDER

Anabaptist historiography was formerly the privilege of its enemies. The Anabaptists could not take part, for from 1528 on the German imperial and national laws threatened death to any defender of Anabaptism. Any attempt to refute false accusations was directly followed by persecution and arrest. Therefore the opponents of Anabaptism were able to spread the most absurd assertions concerning the life and doctrine of the Anabaptists without having to face a rebuttal. They took copious advantage of their position. This violent suppression of the right of self-defense naturally injured the entire Anabaptist brotherhood, for those who were not in a position to draw their own conclusions from observation had to consider them hostile to the state as well as to religion. The few fanatical manifestations among the Anabaptists, which modern research has shown to have occurred largely when their sober leaders had been forcibly removed, were the principal foundation for the attacks of the writers —chiefly theologians—of the sixteenth century. In their hostile attitude the writers made no distinction between the character of quiet Anabaptism and the extreme excrescences. The few objective contemporary historians like Sebastian Franck (1499-1543), particularly his *Chronica, Zeytbuch und Geschychtibibel* (1531), were exceptions and exerted little influence. The difficulty of securing a printer also handicapped the Anabaptists in publishing their views. An Amsterdam printer was executed in 1544 for publishing a book by Menno Simons.

This one-sided attitude dominated the body of church historical writings far beyond the sixteenth century. The very titles of the books dealing with the origin and doctrine of the new brotherhood betray this. One of the oldest writings was Zwingli's *In Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus* of 1527; another of the same year was that by Urban Rhegius which appeared in Augsburg: *Wider den newen Taufforden, Notwendighe Warnung an alle christ gleubigen durch die diener des Evangelii zu Augsburg.* Also of 1527 was J. Bader's *Brüderliche Warnung für dem newen Abgöttischen orden der Widertäuffer.* In 1528 appeared Philip Melanchthon's book, *Unterricht wider die Lere der Widertauffer verdeutscht durch Justus Jonas,* and eight years later the admonition to the princes by the same author, *Das weltliche Oberkeitt den Widertaufferen mit leiblicher straff zu weren schuldig sey.* In 1528 Andreas Althamer also wrote a

book, *Ein kurze unterricht den Pfarherrn und Predigern in Brandenburg . . .* ; it draws the conclusion that Anabaptist doctrines carried revolt in their train. In 1531 Heinrich Bullinger wrote *Von dem unverschampten fräfel, ergerlichem verwyrren und unwarhaftem leeren der selbsgesandten Widertouffern;* in 1560 he wrote a second book, *Der widertäufferen ursprung, fürgang, secten, wäsen, fürneme und gemeine irer Artickel.* This method of attack continued in the seventeenth century. In 1603 Christoph Andreas Fischer published his polemic, *Von der widertauffer verfluchten Ursprung, Gottlosen Lehre und derselber grundtliche widerlegung,* followed in 1607 by his equally venomous book, *Der Hutterischen Widertauffer Taubenkobel.* In 1623 Theobaldus Zacharias wrote *Widertaufferischer Geist, das ist Glaubwürdiger und historischer Bericht, was Jammer und Elend die alten Widertauffer gestifftet und angerichtet* (repr. by W. A. Mayer at Cöthen in 1701). Note also L. Duck's *Adversos impios Anabaptistarum errores* (Hagenau, 1530) and Johannes Gast's *De Anabaptismi exordio, erroribus, historiis abominandis* (Basel, 1544).

These few samples from the literary flood issuing from all the great churches are sufficient to show how little interest there was in treating the Anabaptist movement with justice. These works were used as sources by later historians, who took them over without question; very few historians went back to the original confessional writings of the Anabaptist leaders; it occurred to only a few to compare them with the statements of contemporary opponents. Well into the nineteenth century the great Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century was uncritically identified with the Peasants' War of 1525 and the events in Münster; Menno Simons was thought to have gathered the dispersed remnants of the Münster Anabaptists and to have turned them to the ways of peace. But of the persecutions, which lasted in Holland until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, in Germany until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, and in Switzerland until the eighteenth century, and brought a martyr's death to thousands, practically nothing was said. Not even the imperial laws against baptism upon confession of faith were mentioned.

The inevitable consequence was that these biased presentations could not hold their ground against scholarly investigation as soon as the nature and goals of the Anabaptist movement were clearly recognized. It, of course, took several centuries to reach this point. But when it was reached, an amazing reversal took place in the judgment of scholars regarding Anabaptism.[5] In the meantime many of the Anabaptist ideas, such as liberty of faith and conscience, the rejection

of force in religious matters, complete separation of church and state, for which the old Anabaptists had struggled so long and valiantly, had already become so commonly accepted that the movement, so long despised, now attracted the scholar. "Thanks to the research of recent years," writes Adolf Harnack, "the portraits of distinguished Christians from Anabaptist circles have been given us; and not a few of these honorable and strong-minded men are more comprehensible to us than a heroic Luther or an iron-willed Calvin."[1]

The foundation for this unprejudiced presentation of the Anabaptist movement could not be laid until historians took the trouble of becoming acquainted with the writings of Anabaptist leaders and the testimony of the victims of persecution. There was, to be sure, not a wide selection, but the few writings available were sufficient to enable an unprejudiced scholar to form a judgment. Information on their doctrine, for instance, was to be found in the works of Hans Denck, Marpeck, Menno Simons, and Dirk Philips. Their spiritual stature is indicated in their hymns, begun in 1535 by the prisoners in the castle at Passau in the oldest Anabaptist hymnal, the *Ausbund* (1564). A collection of the testimony of the martyrs appeared first in the Dutch martyrbook *Het Offer des Heeren* (1562), which Tieleman Jansz van Braght expanded, with the help of other intervening martyrologies, into his *Martyrs' Mirror* (1660).

The first writer of church history to make a complete break with the traditional presentation of Anabaptism was Gottfried Arnold. In his extensive work, *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie,* first published in Frankfurt in 1699 (enlarged 3d ed. Schaffhausen, 1740-42), he proves the untruth of a series of false assertions. He was familiar with the writings mentioned above and recognized the injustice of the church toward dissenting Christians. A factor in his interest may have been the fact that he was closely connected with the arising Pietism; through this spiritual relatedness of Pietism with Anabaptism he may have been granted a deeper understanding of it than the theologians of the traditional school. He was reproached with prejudice in favor of the "heretics." But this did not prevent his work from actually forming the transition from the orthodox, limited concept of church history to an objective evaluation of events and processes. Ernst Troeltsch calls Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* "a church history which is even today not out-of-date and which can still be compared with modern church historians. It covers an incred-

1 Adolf Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (1910) 722.

ibly rich field of material and carries the student into the atmosphere of extra-ecclesiastical Protestantism as no other book does."[2]

Nevertheless it took a long time for Arnold's work to find recognition from scholars. The prejudices against circles outside the state church were so deep-seated that the principles represented by the Anabaptist brotherhood were intentionally overlooked. German writers of church history were still so much under the spell of the traditional concepts that they could not free themselves for objective reporting, and writers of secular history did not investigate into the religious history of the sixteenth century deeply enough to recognize the significance of the Anabaptist movement. They saw in it rather a mere secondary phenomenon of the Reformation, which must in the nature of things disappear of itself after the large churches of the Reformation were firmly established. "At the time when the older men of our generation were students," said Walther Köhler in a lecture on Mennonite historical research, "we scarcely heard anything mentioned [about the Anabaptist movement], and if it did happen, a judgment was passed upon it in advance by the use of the word 'fanatics.' "[3] A familiar type of writing about the "heretics" (Anabaptists always one of the chief) was the *Ketzer-Historie, Ketzer-Lexikon, or Ketzer-Geschichte* ("Ketzer" being the equivalent of "heretic"), which flourished in the eighteenth century.

A more careful cultivation of Mennonite history was made first in Holland, where the Mennonites found official toleration earlier than in other countries. Here, after the preliminary work done by van Braght, the desire for further research was already awakened. The large numbers of Mennonites there—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about 10 per cent of the population of Holland belonged to the Mennonite brotherhood—and their economic prominence brought about a greater attention to their own history. In addition the numerous polemics of their opponents compelled them to make an attentive study of the sources. Since in Germany there was no literature of this kind, German writers frequently dealt only with the Dutch Anabaptists.

The oldest historical work produced by the Mennonites was published anonymously in 1615 under the title, *Het beginsel en voortganck der geschillen, scheuringen, en verdeeltheden onder de gene die Doopsgesinden Genoemt worden.* For a long time it served with *Het Offer des Heeren* and the *Martyrs' Mirror* as one of the three principal sources for the history of the Dutch Mennonites in

2 Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Tübingen, 1912) 800.

3 *Bericht über die 400 jährige Jubiläumsfeier der Mennoniten* (Karlsruhe, 1925) 173.

the sixteenth century. One hundred years later, in 1720, J. Chr. Jehring published a German translation (*Gründliche Historie*). About this time the works of Herman Schijn, a Mennonite historian, also began to appear. A work of importance was *Geschiedenis der Mennoniten* in three volumes, 1743-45, by Schijn and Gerardus Maatschoen; another was *Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustand der Mennoniten,* written by the German historian, S. F. Rues, published at Jena in 1743, and in a Dutch translation in 1745.

In the nineteenth century new interest awoke in Holland through the influence of Samuel Muller (1785-1875), a professor at the Amsterdam Mennonite Seminary, who published the *Jaarboekje voor de Doopsgezinde Gemeenten* (1837-50). S. Blaupot ten Cate (1807-84) did outstanding regional histories. The historical work of J. G. de Hoop Scheffer (1819-92), also a professor at the Amsterdam Seminary, and the outstanding authority on the Reformation in Holland, was also epoch-making. He brought to light the oldest sources, which he used in many works of lasting value. Alongside of de Hoop Scheffer, Samuel Cramer (1842-1931), professor at the Seminary, deserves credit for his publication of rare sixteenth-century books dealing with the Anabaptists, in the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* the noted collection of works from the time of the Dutch Reformation, which he edited (1903-14).

An abundance of historical treatises appeared in the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1861-1919. Dutch Mennonite historiography was brought to a climax with the work of W. J. Kühler (1874-1946) and N. van der Zijpp, both professors at the Seminary. Kühler devoted three volumes to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch Anabaptists (1932-45) and van der Zijpp presented a brief history of the Dutch Mennonites from the beginning to the present (1952). Cornelius Krahn, the author of the latest complete biography of Menno Simons (1936), summarized the "Historiography of the Dutch Mennonites" in *Church History,* September 1944, and *MQR,* October 1944. Eberhard Teufel presented an annotated bibliography pertaining to the Dutch Mennonites entitled "Täufertum und Quäkertum im Lichte der neueren Forschung" in *Theologische Rundschau,* No. 1 and 2 (1941) 21-48; No. 2 (1948) 161-81. W. Köhler's "Das Täufertum im Lichte der neueren Kirchengeschichtsforschung" (*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* 1940-48) also contains valuable historiographical material on Dutch Anabaptism. H. E. Dosker's *The Dutch Anabaptists* (1921) is the only American monograph on the Dutch theme.

In Germany in the seventeenth century presentations of the whole of Anabaptist history were predominantly in the Latin lan-

guage. The best-known works are those of A. Meshovius, *Historiae Anabaptisticae Libri Septem* (Cologne, 1617), and J. H. Ottius, *Annales Anabaptistici* (Basel, 1672). Since the middle of the eighteenth century German research scholars have engaged in the study of Anabaptist history. In his copious collection of sources on Swiss Reformation history (*Beyträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations-Geschichten des Schweitzerlandes,* Zürich, 1741-53), the Swiss scholar J. C. Füsslin published valuable materials on Swiss Anabaptist history. On the Anabaptist movement in Bavaria in the sixteenth century V. A. Winter published in 1809 a fragmentary presentation in his *Geschichte der baierischen Wiedertäufer* based on several archival sources, in which he nevertheless completely misinterpreted their character. He even attempted to justify the Anabaptist persecutions against Kant's conception of the conscienceless character of the heresy judges. In the Anabaptist movement he saw only mischief and ruin to the state (p. 162). The results of more recent research were used by Siegmund Riezler in his sensitive presentation in *Geschichte Bayerns* (1903).

The first comprehensive history of the Anabaptists, *Geschichte der Taufe und Taufgesinnten,* was published in 1789 by Johann August Starck, the Hessian court chaplain. Starck was severely attacked by the rationalistic wing; he called his book a sort of defense of his theological position (p. VI). Beside the writings (1821, 1829) of G. L. von Reiswit and F. Wadzeck it was the most reliable informative work on the history of the Mennonites in the first centuries up to that time. J. Hast's *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer* (1836), written by a Catholic, is typical of the early nineteenth century. The liberal Karl Hagen and the orthodox Max Goebel began a juster objective reporting.[4]

A great impetus was given to the study of Anabaptist history about the middle of the nineteenth century by the noted Old Catholic historian, Carl A. Cornelius, who by his thorough research, e.g., *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs,* 1855-60, sought to fathom the nature and significance of Anabaptism, and thus came to the conclusion that the movement emanated from more worthy motives than the historians, secular and religious, had up to that time given it credit for.

In rapid sequence thorough investigations of the Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century were now published, throwing light upon this hitherto neglected branch of church history. For a while nearly every year produced several works on the history of the

4 Karl Hagen, *Deutschlands literarische und religiose Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter* 3 vv. (2nd ed. Frankfurt, 1868); Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinischwestfälischen evangelischen Kirche* I (Koblentz, 1848).

Anabaptists in various countries or on leading personalities in the movement. Heberle wrote on Hans Denk (1851 and 1855) and Capito's relation to Swiss Anabaptism (1858), G. E. Röhrich on Hans Denk (1853) and the Anabaptist movement in Strasbourg (1860), K. Keim on Ludwig Haetzer (1856), K. W. H. Hochhuth on the movement in Hesse (1858-60), Friedrich Nippold on David Joris (1863-68), and Chr. Meyer on the movement in Upper Swabia (1874). Later many individual biographies of Anabaptist leaders appeared; e.g., Denk (Keller 1862, Haake 1897, Schwindt 1922, Weis 1925, Coutts 1927, Vittali 1932); Haetzer (Weis 1930, Goeters 1956); David Joris (Bainton 1935); Grebel (Bender 1950); Blaurock (Jecklin 1891, Loserth 1898, Moore 1955); Hofmann (Leendertz 1883, zur Linden 1885); Hubmaier (Vedder 1905, Mau 1912, Sachsse 1914, Wiswedel 1939); Menno (Cramer 1837, Roosen 1848, Vos 1914, Horsch 1916, Krahn 1936).

Some excitement was caused by the research done by archivist Ludwig Keller of Münster on the forerunners of the Anabaptists and by his attempt to prove direct connection between them and the old evangelical parties of the Middle Ages. In his investigations he was led by the idea that the Anabaptists, in whom he recognized a revival of apostolic church life, must be the descendants of those suppressed brotherhoods, and he tried on a large scale to construct an unbroken chain of free evangelical brotherhoods from original Christianity to the present. Even though this attempt failed, nevertheless his book, *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (1885), retains its value by virtue of the source material it contains; it was a powerful incentive to further research on Anabaptist history in all countries in which congregations were formed during the Reformation. Even before this book appeared, Ludwig Keller had published monographs on the Anabaptists, for the purpose of serving the truth. His presentation of the life of the Anabaptist leader Hans Denk[5] won wide attention.

In the following years books and articles on the Anabaptists were published as follows: J. Habets on Maastricht (1877), Emil Egli on Zürich (1878) and St. Gall (1887), J. Hansen on Aachen (1884), F. O. zur Linden on Melchior Hofmann (1885), Gustav Bossert on the Anabaptist movement in Württemberg (1888 ff.), C. Gerbert, in Strasbourg (1889), Karl Rembert, in the duchy of Jülich (1893 and 1899), A. H. Newman on the Anabaptist movement in the sixteenth century (1897), Johann Loserth, in Styria (1894), Eduard Jacobs, in the Harz (1899), Friedrich Roth, in Augsburg and Upper Swabia

5 Ludwig Keller, *Ein Apostel der Widertäufer* (Leipzig, 1882).

(1900), Eduard Becker, in Kürnbach (1902), Rudolf Wolkan on the hymns of the Anabaptists (1903) and the Hutterian Brethren in America (1918), Christian Hege on the Anabaptists in the Kurpfalz (1908), Paul Wappler, in Thuringia (1908 ff.), Hermann Nestler, in Regensburg (1926), and Karl Alt, in Kaufbeuren (1930).

The theology of the Anabaptists and their place in the history of Christian thought has received considerable attention in recent years. Ernst Troeltsch's *Sociallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (1912, English, 1936) was epoch-making and influential for the typology of the Anabaptist movement. Johannes Kühn's *Toleranz und Offenbarung* (1923) was a further creative and stimulating effort in this direction. Karl Holl, "Luther und die Schwärmer" (*Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 1922) and Ulrich Bergfried, *Die Verantwortung als theologisches Problem im Taufertum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1938), while containing much valuable information, wrote wholly from the strict Lutheran standpoint with a negative critical outcome, similar to H. Lüdemann's earlier *Reformation und Täufertum* (1896) from the Reformed standpoint. Fritz Heyer, *Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer* (1939) is better but still misconceives the Anabaptist position. Walther Köhler, *Dogmengeschichte als Geschichte des christlichen Selbstbewusstseins,* II *Das Zeitalter der Reformation* (1951) is the first general history of dogma to give the Anabaptists both space and a fair evaluation. F. H. Littell's *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (1952) is by all odds the best monograph on Anabaptist theology yet produced. John Horsch's *Infant Baptism and its Origin among Protestants* (1917) treats a limited field thoroughly and is important for its assembly of documentary evidence for the emergent years of Anabaptism. Ethelbert Stauffer's important article "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom" brilliantly opens a new aspect.[6] H. S. Bender has set forth the essence of the Anabaptist faith in *The Anabaptist Vision*[7] (1944). The MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW's "Special Anabaptist Theology Number" (January 1950) contains valuable studies. J. C. Wenger published "The Theology of Pilgram Marpeck" (1938).[8] The latest study is Peter Kawerau's *Melchior Hofmann als religiöser Denker* (1954).

Modern comprehensive accounts of Anabaptism, following the initial attempt by Anna Brons in her *Ursprung, Entwickelung und*

6 *MQR* XIX (1945) 179-214, translated from *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte* LII (1933) 545-98.

7 "The Anabaptist Vision," *MQR* XVIII (1944) 67-88, revised from *Church History* XIII (1944) 3-24. See also H. S. Bender's "The Anabaptist Theology of Discipleship," *MQR* XXIV (1950) 25-32, "The Anabaptists and Religious Liberty in the 16th Century," *MQR* XXIX (1955) 83-100, and "The Pacifism of the Sixteenth Century Anabaptists," *MQR* XXX (1956) 5-18.

8 "The Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *MQR* XII (1938) 205-56.

Schicksale (1884), have been delivered only by English and American writers (except for the brief account in Horst Penner's *Weltweite Bruderschaft* of 1955). In English A. H. Newman's *History of Anti-Pedobaptism . . . to 1609* (1897) was the first good account, and is still useful. E. B. Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists* (1903), written from the social and socialistic point of view, does not go beyond Münster. E. C. Pike, *The Story of the Anabaptists* (1904), is better but brief. C. H. Smith's general works on Mennonite history (1920 and 1941) give the best comprehensive treatment, although John Horsch's *Mennonites in Europe* (1942) gives more detail, and R. J. Smithson's *The Anabaptists* (1935) is a reliable popular account. Roland Bainton's treatment of the Anabaptists in his *Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (1952) is the best in any general history of the Reformation or of the church as a whole. At last the true character of the Anabaptists is being reported by the best modern church historians, among whom the American Bainton is a peer. W. Wiswedel's well-written and reliable essays on a large number of Anabaptist leaders and episodes in his 3-volume work, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum* (1928, 1930, 1952), together with numerous articles in scholarly journals, stamp him as one of the best living scholarly popular writers on Anabaptism. He writes *ex animo*.

In prewar Austria the Hutterian Brethren had their history written by their own chroniclers and distributed by means of copies. To the outside world the brotherhood was shut away for centuries. These valuable documents were published in extracts in 1883 by Josef Beck in volume 43 of the *Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen* as *Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer*. Finally the full publication of the large *Geschicht-Buch* was accomplished by Rudolf Wolkan in 1923 and A. J. F. Zieglschmid in 1943, followed by the *Klein-Geschichtsbuch* by Zieglschmid in 1947. The large Hutterian hymnbook had already been published in 1914; the fully edited scholarly edition by Zieglschmid still awaits a publisher.[9]

There had already been some articles published by Gregor Wolny on the Anabaptists in Moravia (1850) and by von Kripp on the Anabaptist movement in Tirol (1857). The work and collection of materials of Beck was followed by publications by Alexander Nicoladoni on Johannes Bünderlin (1888 and 1893), by Joseph Jäkel on the Anabaptist movement in Upper Austria (1889 and 1895), by the outstanding scholar Johann Loserth on the Anabaptist movement in Tirol (1892 and 1894), on Balthasar Hubmaier (1893), the Anabaptist movement in Moravia and Styria (1894), on the communism

9 Manuscript in the Goshen College Library.

of the Hutterites in Moravia (1894), and on the movement in Lower Austria (1899), besides numerous articles in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* and in other periodicals. Loserth's work is of the highest quality. Worthy of mention are also the works by Hartmann Amman on the Anabaptist movement in the Puster Valley (1896 and 1897), by Georg Loesche on Anabaptism and Protestantism in Tirol and Vorarlberg (1926), by Robert Friedmann on the Habaner in Czechoslovakia (1927), by Lydia Müller on the communism of the Hutterian Brethren in Moravia (1927), by Fr. Hruby on the Anabaptists in Moravia (1935), by Franz Kolb on the movement in the Wipptal (1951), and by Widmoser on Tyrolese Anabaptism (1951). John Horsch's *Hutterian Brethren* (1929) is the only good general work on the Hutterites in English.

A stately series of writings has also been produced in Switzerland, the country of Anabaptist origins. In addition to the studies by Fusslin, pioneer work was done by Emil Egli on the Anabaptists in Zürich (1878) and in St. Gall (1887), and in his important collection of court records regarding the history of the Swiss Reformation.[10] Egli's research in the field of church history yielded disclosures fundamental to the study of Mennonite origins. After his death Georg Finsler published (in 1910) the first volume of the history of the Swiss Reformation (1519-25), which Egli had almost completed.[11] Here Egli's research is unusually comprehensive, precisely on the Anabaptist movement. From the socio-economic viewpoint Ernst H. Correll throws light on Swiss Anabaptist-Mennonitem (1925); his work was the first thorough presentation of an Anabaptist group in the sociological sense.

On the Anabaptist movement in Italy the publications of Karl Benrath, *Wiedertäufer im Venetianischen* (1885) and *Reformation in Venedig* (1887), have been superseded by the work of Henry De Wind "Anabaptism and Italy," in *Church History* (1952), based on his unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, "Relations Between Italian Reformers and the Anabaptists in the Mid-Sixteenth Century" (1951). De Wind has shown that there was no true Anabaptist movement in Italy, Benrath and Comba (*I Nostri Protestante,* 1897) having confused anti-Trinitarians with them.

Anabaptism in England will receive full treatment for the first time in Irvin B. Horst's doctoral dissertation (Amsterdam, 1957). But see also Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters* (1912).

For the historiography of the Anabaptists in the Netherlands see

10 *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Züricher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533* (Zürich, 1879).

11 *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte* I (Zürich, 1910).

Cornelius Krahn's thorough survey in "Historiography of the Mennonites in the Netherlands," *MQR* (1944) 18:195-224. Since its publication two significant works have appeared: N. van der Zijpp's *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Nederland* (Arnhem, 1952), which contains the best available survey of Dutch Anabaptism (pp. 26-86); and A. F. Mellink's *De Wederdopers in de noordelijke Nederlanden* (Groningen, 1954), which gives excessive weight to the revolutionary elements, and thus partially perverts the history.

The chief repository of scholarly articles on Anabaptist history, theology, etc., is the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW, which since its founding in 1927 has published a vast amount of material in this field and seeks to keep abreast of current research. Significant articles have appeared in *Archiv für Reformations-Geschichte* and in *Church History*.[12]

Independent judgments on the Anabaptist movement are found in few handbooks on church history. One of the first objective presentations was that by Max Goebel in his *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der evangelischen rheinisch-westfalischen Kirche* (1848). The most thorough evaluations were given by K. Müller in his *Kirchengeschichte* (2nd ed. 1922) and Möller-Kawerau in *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (1907). Noteworthy articles appear in Herzog's *Realenzyclopädie* (3rd ed., 1896-1908), and in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd ed., 1927-32).

The historiography of utopian as well as scientific socialism has also dealt with Anabaptism. This trend, represented especially by Kautsky (*Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus* I, 1895) and Bernstein (d. 1932), had two objectives: 1) to explain the Reformation in general according to the principles of materialistic historiography; 2) to see especially in the Anabaptist movement the "forerunners of modern socialism." A critical summary of these attempts was given for the first time in Correll, *Das schweizerische Taufermennonitentum* (1925); see also his sections "allgemeine bibliographische Vorbemerkung," "Allgemeine historisch-soziologische Kennzeichnung," and "Ausbreitung und ökonomischsozialer Charakter des Täufer-Mennonitentums" with historiographical remarks.[13] Socialistic historiography has to its credit the recognition of the distinction between radical and pacifist Anabaptists. Recently East German writers have exploited the Anabaptists for the communist cause; e.g., references in K. Kleinschmidt, *Thomas Münzer* (1952).

12 The *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, a four-volume work of which I (1955) and II (1956) have already appeared, with III and IV due in 1957 and 1958, contains a vast amount of material on Anabaptism, much of which appeared earlier in German in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt and Weierhof, I, 1913-24; II, 1925-38, and III in process since 1938).

13 Pp. 6 f.; see also I f., 3-10, and 21-23.

Finally the religio-sociological standard works by Ernst Troeltsch (*Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit,* 1909, and *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen,* 3rd ed. 1923, translated into English, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches,* N.Y., 1936) and Max Weber (*Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie,* Vol. I, 1920, and "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" in *Grundriss der Sozialökonomie,* 1922) have removed the last trace of a sectarian judgment. To the same end Walther Köhler (1870-1946), the Zwingli scholar, worked in an eminently objective manner.

For a treatment of bibliographies see the article on this subject in the Mennonite Quarterly Review (1950).[14]

Source publications. The past 30 years have witnessed a significant amount of publication of major Anabaptist sources. The first such enterprise was the publication of two Marpeck writings, one, the *Vermahnung* edited by Christian Hege in the *Gedenkschrift* of 1925, the other the *Verantwortung* edited by Johann Loserth in 1929 (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Taufgesinnten im 16. Jahrhundert).* Meanwhile the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, led by Hans von Schubert and Otto Scheel, had undertaken the publication of all Anabaptist archival sources in the German language area, under the series title, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer* (changed to *Täufer* in 1951). The following volumes appeared before 1940: *Herzogtum Württemberg* 1930, *Markgraftum Brandenburg* (Bavaria I) 1934, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Hutterite) 1938. After World War II, the Mennonite Historical Society of Germany now being a partner in the project, the following additional volumes appeared: *Bayern* II 1951, *Baden-Pfalz* 1951, Hans Denk's *Schriften* 1956. Further volumes are in preparation: *Alsace* I (Strasbourg), *Glaubenszeugnisse* II, *Württemberg* II, *Hutterite Epistles* 2 vv., *Austria* 3 vv., *Rhineland* 2 vv.

The *Täuferakten* for Hesse (1527-1626) were also published in 1951 by the Historische Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, and in 1952 Leonhard von Muralt began the publication of a Swiss Anabaptist source series, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz,* with a volume on Zürich, to be followed by a volume containing the *Berner Gespräch* of 1538, and at least two other volumes. The *Protocol* of the *Frankenthal Gespräch* of 1571 appeared in that same year.

14 H. S. Bender, "Recent Anabaptist Bibliographies," *MQR* XXIV (1950) 88-91. Special mention should be made of the extraordinary historiographical bibliographies (*Literaturbericht*) by Walther Köhler and Eberhard Teufel. Köhler's "Das Täufertum im Lichte der neueren Kirchengeschichtsforschung" covered 56 pages in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* for 1940, 1941, and 1943, followed by an installment on the "Spiritualists" in 1948. Teufel's "Täufertum und Quäkertum im Lichte der neueren Forschung" covered 173 pages in seven installments in the *Theologische Rundschau* for 1941 (3), 1942 (2), 1943 (1), and 1948 (1).

The two great Hutterite chronicles have been published, the first in two editions (Wolkan, Vienna, 1923, and Zieglschmid, Philadelphia, 1943), the second, again by Zieglschmid, in 1947 at Philadelphia. Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* was reprinted twice (in 1903 at Scottdale, Pa., and in 1938 in England), then published in an English translation in England in 1949. The MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW has published a series of English translations of shorter documents and tracts by J. C. Wenger, such as the *Schleitheim Confession.* The American series, *The Christian Classics,* published in 1957 one volume on the Anabaptists and related groups.

There has been extensive use of the Anabaptist theme in literature, with the Münsterites used most often. Two doctoral dissertations surveyed this field up to 1913: W. Rauch, *Johann von Leiden, der König von Sion, in der deutschen Dichtung* (Leipzig, 1912), and H. Hermsen, *Die Wiedertäufer zu Münster in der deutschen Dichtung* (Stuttgart, 1913). Elizabeth H. Bender published a series of articles on Anabaptists and Mennonites in German and American literature in the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW 1943-46, and Mary E. Bender's dissertation (Indiana, 1957) surveys the field since 1900.

The hymnology of the Anabaptists received an outstanding treatment by Rudolf Wolkan in his *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (Berlin, 1903). The great German hymnologist, Philipp Wackernagel, treated Anabaptist hymnology twice. His *Lieder der niederländischen Reformierten aus der Zeit der Verfolgung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 1867) is largely devoted to Dutch Anabaptist hymns, reproducing a total of 79, while Volume III of his *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (Leipzig, 1870) reprints 46 hymns of German Anabaptists (441-86).

The only comprehensive treatment of Anabaptist historiography to date is that by Christian Hege in his article "Geschichtschreibung" in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Vol. II, 96-101, to which the present article is much indebted.

Switzerland

General histories. The best general accounts of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement in Switzerland are those by C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (3rd ed. 1950), and John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (2nd ed. 1950). Samuel Geiser, the only Mennonite historian of Switzerland, published a very valuable history of the Swiss Mennonites under the title *Die Taufgesinnten-Gemeinden* (1931, pp. 496), but as the title suggests it is not limited to the Swiss, only pp. 126-214 and 369-486 being devoted to this group. Anna Brons, *Ursprung, Entwickelung . . . der Mennoniten* (1884) has a

generous section on Switzerland. Ernst Correll, *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum, Ein soziologischer Bericht* (1925, pp. 145), includes France and South Germany. Ernst Müller's *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer* (1895, pp. 411) and Delbert Gratz's *Bernese Anabaptists* (1953, pp. 205) are thorough regional histories, Gratz including emigrant settlements in Europe and America. All general surveys of Anabaptism and Mennonitism must of course pay attention to the history of Swiss Anabaptism as the initial aspect of the whole movement and need not be further mentioned here; likewise general or cantonal histories of Swiss Protestantism. However, A. H. Newman's *A History of Antipedobaptism . . . to 1609* has a very good section on Swiss Anabaptism, pp. 88-152; J. H. Ott's *Annales Anabaptistici, hoc est Historia Universalis de Anabaptistarum origine, progressu . . .* (1672, pp. 360) reports chronologically year by year, consists largely of quotations from sources, and does not segregate Swiss material, though containing much of it. J. Heberle, "Die Anfänge des Anabaptismus in der Schweiz," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* III (1858), 225-79, and C. A. Cornelius, *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs* II, *Die Wiedertaufe* (1860, pp. 413), 1-30 and 240-50, are excellent. Special monographs on Swiss Anabaptism include: H. S. Burrage, *A History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland* (1882, pp. 230); Gottfried Strasser, "Der Schweizerische Anabaptismus zur Zeit der Reformation," in *Berner Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schweizerischen Reformationskirchen* (1889, pp. 168-245); and Richard Nitsche, *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in der Schweiz* (1885, pp. 107). L. von Muralt gives a valuable summary of Swiss Anabaptist doctrines in *Glaube und Lehre der schweizerischen Täufer in der Reformationszeit* (1938, pp. 49), while H. Lüdemann, *Reformation und Täufertum in ihrem geschichtlichen Verhältnis zum christlichen Prinzip* (1896, pp. 95) sharply attacks the Anabaptist position. Georg Thormann gives a valuable report on the Swiss Anabaptists of the seventeenth century, particularly in Bern, in his *Probier-Stein oder Schriftmässige und aus dem wahren innerlichen Christenthumb Hergenommene Gewissenhafte Prüfung des Täuffertums* (1693, pp. 610). Robert Friedmann's *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries, Its Genius and Its Literature* (1949, pp. 287), besides the chapter "The Devotional Literature of the Swiss Brethren 1600-1800" (pp. 154-75), devotes the first part (pp. 3-90) to a treatment of "Anabaptism and Pietism" based largely on a study of the Swiss J. J. Wolleb, *Gespräche zwischen einem Pietisten und Wiedertäuffer* (Basel, 1722, pp. 314). Paul Peachey's *Die soziale Herkunft der Schweizer Täufer* (1954, pp. 157) gives the first report on the social origins of the Swiss Anabaptists.

DIVINITY SCHOOL

Cantonal and local histories. Zürich, known as the birthplace of Anabaptism, has received the most frequent treatment. Heinrich Bullinger's two books, *Von dem unverschampten fräfel . . .* (1531, folios 178) and *Der Widerteufferen Ursprung, fürgang, Secten, wäsen* (1560, pp. 231), while most valuable, are polemical attacks rather than history. The best monograph is Cornelius Bergmann, *Die Täuferbewegung in Kanton Zürich bis 1660* (1916, pp. 176). But see also Emil Egli, *Die Züricher Wiedertäufer zur Reformationszeit* (1878, pp. 104), and Walther Köhler, "Die Züricher Taufer" in *Gedenkschrift zum 400-jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten* (1925), 48-64. Fritz Blanke's brilliant *Brüder in Christo* (1955, pp. 88) tells the story of the rise and end of the first Anabaptist congregation at Zollikon, canton of Zürich, in 1525, Paul Kläui, *Geschichte der Gemeinde Horgen* (1952, pp. 746), 185-92, includes the story of the Anabaptist congregation at Horgen. Walter Rauschenbusch, "The Zürich Anabaptists and Thomas Müntzer," in the *American Journal of Theology* (1905, pp. 91-106), prints Grebel's letter to Müntzer in 1524 with comments. A report of persecutions in the Zürich territory 1635-45 is contained in an undated pamphlet, *Ein warhafftiger Bericht von den Brüdern im Schweitzerland, in dem Zürcher Gebiet, wegen der Trübsalen,* which has been reprinted (46 pp.) in all American editions of the *Ausbund* beginning in 1742. See also *Wahrhafftter Bericht unsers des Bürgermeisters . . . der Statt Zürich . . . unserer Handlungen gegen den Widertäufferen* (1639, pp. 71). Other cantonal and local histories worthy of note are Emil Egli, *Die St. Galler Täufer* (1887, pp. 64); Ernst Muller, "Langnauer Täufer vor 200 Jahren," in *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für den Kanton Bern* IV (1893) 63-133; P. Burckhardt, *Die Basler Täufer* (1898, pp. 125); C. A. Bächtold, "Die Schaffhauser Wiedertäufer in der Reformationszeit" in *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte* (1900, pp. 73-118); W. J. McGlothlin, *Die Berner Täufer bis 1532* (1902, pp. 37); G. Appenzeller, "Solothurner Täufertum im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift für Eugen Tatonioff* (1938, pp. 110-34) and "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Solothurner Täufertums" in *Jahrbuch f. Sol. Geschichte* (1941, pp. 50-89); A. Fluri, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer* (1912, pp. 69, reprint from *Blätter f. Bernische Geschichte . . .*); J. Heiz, "Täufer im Aargau" in *Taschenbuch . . . des Kantons Aargau* (1902, pp. 107-205); R. Feller, "Die Anfänge des Täufertums in Bern" in *Festgabe für Heinrich Türler* (1931, pp. 105-12); O. Vasella, "Von den Anfängen der Bündnerischen Täuferbewegung," in *Ztscht f. Schw. Geschichte* (1938, pp. 165-84). T. de Quervain's *Kirchliche und soziale Zustände in Bern* (1906, pp. 286) has a good chapter on

the Anabaptists (pp. 120-58) and Max Stiefel's similar *Die kirchlichen Zustände im Knonaueramt nach der Reformation 1531-1600* (1947) has a useful chapter on the Anabaptists (pp. 152-67); R. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (1903, pp. 295), has considerable sections on the hymns of the Swiss Brethren (pp. 26-56, 118-64). For biographies of Conrad Grebel, the founder of Zürich Anabaptism, see Christian Neff, "Konrad Grebel," in *Gedenkschrift* (*op. cit.*, pp. 65-133) and H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (1950, pp. 326). Beatrice Jenny's theological treatment, *Das Schleitheimer Täuferbekenntnis* 1527 (1951, pp. 81), taken with Fritz Blanke's "Beobachtungen zum altesten Täuferbekenntnis" in *Arch. f. Ref.-Geschichte* (1940, pp. 242-48) and J. C. Wenger's translation and commentary, "The Schleitheim Confession of Faith," in *MQR* XXIV (1950, pp. 243-53), gives a definitive picture. Milton Gascho's "The Amish Division of 1693-1697 in Switzerland" in *MQR* XI (1937, pp. 235-66) is excellent, based on the sources. Jan Matthijssen gives a good account of the great Bern disputation of 1538 in *MQR* XXII (1948, pp. 19-33). M. de Boer's "Vom Thunersee zum Sappemeer, ein Täufer- und Auswandererschicksal aus drei Jahrhunderten," in *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* (1947) 1-24, is a valuable account of the Swiss Mennonite settlement in Holland in 1711 ff.

Source publications. The Swiss Anabaptist sources are to be published in a series of at least four volumes, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz,* of which Vol. I, *Zürich,* edited by L. von Muralt and Walter Schmid (replacing Egli's *Aktensammlung* of 1879), appeared in 1952 (pp. 428). The next volume (due in 1957) is to be the record of the Bern disputation of 1538. J. C. Füsslin, *Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations-Geschichten des Schweitzerlandes,* 5 vv. (1741-53), contains much material not in von Muralt-Schmid, which stops with 1533. The discussions of the Reformed preachers of Bern with Hans Pfistermeyer in 1531 were printed under the title *Ein christenlich Gespräch* (pp. 90). Oecolampadius' written reply to the Anabaptists Carlin and Hubmaier appeared in 1527 under the title *Underrichtung von dem Widertauff, von der Oberkeit, und von dem Eyd, auff Carlins N. Widertauffers Artikel* and *Antwort auff Balthasar Hübmeiers Büchlein wider der Predicanten Gespräch zu Basel von dem Kindertauff* (pp. 103). The only other public Anabaptist disputation to be published was that of Zofingen of 1532 (*Handlungen oder Acta der Disputation gehalten zu Zofingen,* 1532, folios 154).

Alsace

The history of Anabaptism in Alsace has been treated in all the general works on Anabaptism, and also in monographs, the best of which is A. Hulshof, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden te Strattsburg van 1525 tot 1557* (1905, pp. 262). Louis Hauth, *Les Anabaptistes a Strasbourg au Temps de la Reformation* (1860, pp. 34), although a Strasbourg dissertation (B.Th.), is unimportant. Much more valuable is the work of T. W. Röhrich, "Zur Geschichte der Strassburgischen Wiedertäufer in den Jahren 1527 bis 1534," in *Ztscht f. hist. Theologie* (1860, pp. 3-121), and particularly Camill Gerbert, *Geschichte der Strassburger Sectenbewegung . . . 1524-1534* (1889, pp. 200). See also X. Mosemann, *Les Anabaptistes a Colmar 1534-35*. Robert Kreider, "The Anabaptists and the Civil Authorities of Strasbourg 1525-1555" in *Church History* (1955, 99-118) has much to contribute, as does Christian Neff's article "Martin Bucer" (*Mennonite Encyclopedia* I, 455-60).

THE MENNONITE BOOK AND TRACT SOCIETY, 1892-1908

John A. Hostetler*

Several publishing interests important to the Mennonite Church preceded the founding of the church-owned and managed Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, in 1908. One of the most prolific Mennonite publishers before this date was John F. Funk, Chicago, Illinois, and Elkhart, Indiana, who published under the imprint of his own name from 1864 to 1869; as John F. Funk and Brother from 1869 to 1875; and as the Mennonite Publishing Company 1875 to 1925. Another publishing concern, whose work and influence is largely unknown to the present generation, was that of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society, first organized in May, 1892, and continuing until the establishment of the Mennonite Publishing House, in April, 1908. The Society was a voluntary group made up of members of the Mennonite Church interested in publishing and distributing the distinctive Christian doctrines of the Mennonite Church. The records and minutes of the Society are published here for the first time preparatory to the writing of a history of the Mennonite Publishing House for release in 1958 on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.

Constitution

Constitution and By-Laws of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society Adopted at Elkhart, Indiana, October 10, 1892. Revised and adopted at Elkhart, Indiana, November 4, 1898.

Article I

Name

This Society shall be known as the Mennonite Book and Tract Society.

Article II

Object

Its object shall be to awaken a greater interest for good literature and supply the same; to spread more extensively the plain teachings of the Bible both in the church and in the world; to provide our poor with edifying reading matter; to aid our ministers in securing instructive books and Bible Helps; to place our publications into as many city and college libraries as this Society may deem expedient; and to have timely tracts published to be distributed free.

Article III

Qualifications of Members

Sec. 1. Members must have the cause of Christ at heart; be concerned in having Gospel truth taught more extensively; must be of good repute

*John A. Hostetler is Book Editor of the Mennonite Publishing House.

in the church; and interested in the advancement of the work of the Society.

Sec. 2. Brethren upon being chosen by the Society, after carefully examining the Constitution and By-Laws, and upon signing their names thereto, thereby consenting to fulfill its requirements, and by paying one dollar initiation fee, shall be considered members.

Sec. 3. Any member failing to fulfill the requirements herein specified shall, by a vote of the Society, be dropped from the roll of membership.

Article IV

Officers

Sec. 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice President, Tract Editor, Secretary and Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The officers of the Society shall constitute the Managing Board.

Article V

Duties of Officers

Sec. 1. President. The President shall perform the duties usually pertaining to that office. He shall have special watch over the work of the Society.

Sec. 2. Vice President. The Vice President shall assist the President in his duties and in the absence of the President, or by his appointment, shall perform the duties of the President.

Sec. 3. Tract Editor. It shall be the duty of the Tract Editor to prepare all writings for publication and with the consent of the Managing Board determine the tracts to be published and the books to be distributed.

Sec. 4. Secretary. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a record of all business transacted, to perform all work pertaining to the office of secretary and report at each regular meeting.

Sec. 5. Treasurer. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to receive and hold all monies for the Society, and pay out same upon the order of the Secretary signed by the President.

Article VI

Duties of Managing Board

It shall be the duty of the Managing Board to act for the Society in case of necessity, when a regular meeting cannot be called, to have special oversight of the daily business, and to perform such duties as the Society may confer upon it.

Article VII

Duties of Members

It shall be the duty of the members to see that tracts and books are judiciously distributed, to solicit good reading matter for publication, to keep the officers informed concerning the work in their respective districts, and to solicit contributions.

Article VIII

Meetings and Elections

Sec. 1. The Society shall meet annually by the call of the Secretary. Special meetings may be called at any time by the President.

Sec. 2. Officers shall be chosen at an annual meeting and shall hold office for three years, or until their successors are duly elected.

By-Laws

1. Members shall be chosen by a two-thirds majority of votes cast at an annual meeting.
2. The Managing Board shall have power to appoint a member to fill any vacancy until the next annual meeting.
3. This Constitution and these By-Laws may be amended by a three-fourths majority of votes cast at an annual meeting, provided due notice is given of the proposed Amendment.
4. No books shall be distributed but such as are approved by the Society and the church.

Purpose

The objectives of the Society as stated in the constitution were: 1) "to awaken a greater interest for good literature and supply the same, 2) to spread more extensively the plain teachings of the Bible both in the church and in the world, 3) to provide our poor with edifying reading matter, 4) to aid our ministers in securing instructive books and Bible helps, 5) to place our publications into as many city and college libraries as this Society may deem expedient, and 6) to have timely tracts published to be distributed free."

Membership

The qualifications for joining the Society included several important considerations as the constitution states: "Members must have the cause of Christ at heart; be concerned in having Gospel truth taught more extensively; must be of good repute in the church; and interested in the advancement of the work of the Society." The technical requirements for becoming a member were a careful examination of the constitution and bylaws and signing a printed copy of the same, together with an initiation fee of one dollar. Persons could also be declared members on recommendation at the annual meetings. The duty of each member was "to see that tracts and books are judiciously distributed, to solicit good reading matter for publication, to keep the officers informed concerning the work in their respective districts, and to solicit contributions." Provision was made for dropping members who did not fulfill these requirements.

As nearly as can be ascertained from the minutes and the membership list of the Secretary as of January, 1907, the following list of 67 names constituted the membership of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society. Many of them were Mennonite ministers.

MEMBERS OF THE MENNONITE BOOK AND TRACT SOCIETY

NAME	POST OFFICE	STATE
Arnold, I. C. (attorney)	Lancaster	Pennsylvania
Bender, D. H.	Scottdale	Pennsylvania
Bender, G. L.	Elkhart	Indiana
Berkey, E. J.	Warrenton	Virginia
Blosser, John	Rawson and New Stark	Ohio
Blough, L. A.	Hollsopple	Pennsylvania
Bontrager, J. P.	Albany, Oregon, and	Nampa, Idaho
Breneman, Charles D.	Lima	Ohio
Brilhart, J. A.	Masontown	Pennsylvania
Brunk, C. H.	Harrisonburg	Virginia
Brunk, George R.	Protection and Canton	Kansas
Burkhard, Daniel	Roseland	Nebraska
Burkholder, David	Nappanee	Indiana
Burkholder, L. J.	Markham	Ontario, Canada
Coffman, J. S.	Elkhart	Indiana
Coffman, S. F.	Vineland	Ontario
Durr, John N.	Martinsburg	Pennsylvania
Ebersole, Abr.	Sterling (?)	Illinois
Ebersole, S. D.	Chicago	Illinois
Eby, J. M.	Fentress, Virginia, and	Schellsburg, Pa.
Frey, Elias L.	Wauseon	Ohio
Funk, John F.	Elkhart	Indiana
Garber, David	La Junta	Colorado
Greenawalt, E. K.	Goshen	Indiana
Hallman, Eli S.	Cressman	Ontario
Hartzler, J. K.	McVeytown	Pennsylvania
Hartzler, J. S.	Goshen	Indiana
Heatwole, Jacob A.	La Junta	Colorado
Herr, Charles R.		
Herr, J. M.	Boiling Springs	Pennsylvania
Hilty, David	Nampa	Idaho
Hooley, Levi	West Liberty and Kennard	Ohio
Hostetler, C. K.	Goshen	Indiana
Johns, D. J.	Goshen	Indiana
Kauffman, Daniel	Versailles	Missouri
Kreider, J. E.	Osborn	Ohio
Kulp, Isaac L.	La Junta	Colorado
Kurtz, Jonathan	Ligonier	Indiana
Lapp, M. C.	Dhamtari	India
Lapp, S. G.	South English	Iowa
Lehman, J. S.	Elkhart	Indiana
Lehman, Lewis J.	Elkhart	Indiana
Loucks, Aaron	Scottdale	Pennsylvania
Loucks, D. S.	Scottdale	Pennsylvania
Loucks, John R.	Scottdale	Pennsylvania
Martin, A. D.	Scottdale	Pennsylvania
Martin, S. A.	Milnor and New Holland	Pennsylvania
Metzler, A.	Martinsburg	Pennsylvania
Metzler, A.	West Liberty	Ohio
Musselman, S. H.	New Holland	Pennsylvania
Plank, Fannie E.	Nampa	Idaho
Ressler, J. A.	Scottdale	Pennsylvania

Rupp, J. H.	Shiremanstown	Pennsylvania
Shank, E. C.	Waynesboro	Virginia
Shenk, John M.	Denbigh, Virginia, and	Elida, Ohio
Shetler, S. G.	Johnstown	Pennsylvania
Shoemaker, J. S.	Freeport	Illinois
Steiner, M. S.	Columbus Grove	Ohio
Weaver, John W.	Spring Grove	Pennsylvania
Wenger, A. D.	Millersville	Pennsylvania
Wenger, J. G.	Harper	Kansas
Yoder, C. Z.	Wooster	Ohio
Yoder, D. S.	Bellefontaine	Ohio
Yoder, Sarah A.	Nampa	Idaho
Yoder, Samuel	Elkhart	Indiana
Zook, A. R.	Topeka	Indiana
Zook, J. M.	Conway	Kansas

Founding Date and Officers

The Society was organized on May 20, 1892, at the "Ohio State [Mennonite] Conference,"[1] which met at the Salem Church near Elida. Previously "many of the most interested members of the Mennonite Church were fully convinced that a judicious distribution of religious tracts would be a great power for the advancement of the Christian work. A number of these members obtained tracts wherever they best could, and, at their own expense, sent them out on their mission. A few tracts were also published and distributed by our own people."

"No organized effort, however, was put forth till A.D. 1892. In the spring of this year at the regular meeting of the Ohio Conference an act was passed favoring an organization to publish Bibles and Bible helps at low rates to ministers of the Gospel and free of charge to the worthy poor. An organization was accordingly effected under the name of MENNONITE BOOK AND TRACT SOCIETY."[2] Daniel Kauffman gives May, 1889, as the founding date although the evidence cannot be verified from other sources.[3]

The officers of the Society were elected at annual meetings and served for a term of three years. An active lay Sunday-school promoter and writer, Jonathan K. Hartzler of McVeytown, Pennsylvania, served as temporary chairman when the Society met its first business session on October 10, 1892. The first "permanent officers" (see minutes) elected at this meeting were: J. S. Lehman, President; David Burkholder, Vice-President; J. S. Coffman, Tract Editor; M. S. Steiner, Secretary; and G. L. Bender, Treasurer.

1 *Book and Tract Messenger,* published by Mennonite Book and Tract Society, Vol. 1, No. 1. Spring Grove, Pa., September, 1899. Copy in Goshen College Library.

2 The entire quotation is taken from *ibid.,* 1.

3 *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (1937) 229. Kauffman gives the following as the first officers: President, J. S. Coffman; vice president, David Burkholder; secretary, M. S. Steiner; treasurer, G. L. Bender, although this does not correspond with the first minutes of the Society dated October 10, 1892, published herein.

The Presidency was held by J. S. Lehman until November 12, 1897, when John Blosser of Rawson (and New Stark), Ohio, was elected. D. H. Bender of Elkhart, Indiana, was elected to that office on November 16, 1905, and served during the remainder of the life of the organization. Vice-President David Burkholder of Nappanee, Indiana, served in that capacity until Aaron Loucks of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, was elected on November 16, 1905, who served the remaining years.

The Tract Editor, J. S. Coffman, one of the two assistant editors of the *Herald of Truth,* was succeeded on September 22, 1899, about three months before his death, by A. D. Wenger of Millersville, Pennsylvania. Wenger was provided with a number of assistant editors: M. S. Steiner, E. J. Berkey, J. W. Weaver, and Daniel Kauffman. Wenger held that position until the establishment of the Mennonite Publishing House. On November 6, 1905, the assistant editors were changed to S. G. Shetler and D. D. Miller.

The office of Secretary, held by M. S. Steiner, was combined with that of the Treasurer at the special meeting on March 2, 1897, and approved at the annual meeting on November 12, 1897. During the following year Treasurer G. L. Bender resigned, and on November 4, 1898, J. A. Ressler was chosen to serve as Secretary-Treasurer. John W. Weaver of Spring Grove, Pennsylvania, was appointed to that office on November 12, 1902, with G. L. Bender as Assistant Secretary-Treasurer. A. D. Martin of Scottdale was elected Secretary-Treasurer on November 16, 1905, and served during the remaining active years of the Society.

The Society set up several committees to carry on special phases of its work. The officers constituted the Managing Board. There was a committee to revise the constitution, an executive committee, a committee to negotiate with the Mennonite Publishing Company of Elkhart, Indiana, a committee to arrange for incorporation, a Finance Committee, and a Book Examining Committee. The headquarters of the Society was the office of the Treasurer which was at several different locations during the sixteen-year period of the life of the Society: Elkhart, Indiana, from date of organization to November 4, 1898; Scottdale, Pennsylvania, to November 12, 1902; Spring Grove, Pennsylvania, to November 16, 1905; and back to Scottdale until April 1, 1908, when the Society was discontinued.

The Tract Work

One of the specific objectives of the Society was to publish tracts and to distribute them free. Freewill offerings were received from

interested persons throughout the Mennonite constituency. The names of the donors with the amounts contributed were published. Tracts were published in both English and German, although the English series was much larger than the German.

The exact number of tract titles published will probably never be known. Two years after the Society had been founded 24 different titles were advertised (*Herald of Truth,* June 15, 1894). A notice in the same periodical on October 15, 1897, stated that "We have on hand a large number of good tracts, both in the English and in the German language." In 1900 (*Herald of Truth,* June 15) an announcement stated that about fifty new tracts were ready for the printer; the same notice speaks of 80 different titles. The tracts were classified into three types: "Doctrinal, General, and For the Unconverted." A few of the tracts were written by Mennonite authors but most of them were apparently selected from sources outside the denomination. Many of them were published anonymously.

The following is a list of tracts known to have been published or advertised by the Mennonite Book and Tract Society; the first thirty-three are known to have been published by the Society. Many more must have been published. Each tract was numbered; the highest extant number is 125. The price ranged from one cent to fifteen cents per copy and, in quantity of 100, from seven cents to one dollar.

Tracts Published in English

Against Secret Societies
All Aboard or John's Conclusion
Are You Born Again?
Baptism
The Bible
Bible Doctrines—Briefly Stated
Bible Doctrines in Scripture Readings
Bible Doctrines—in Bible Reading
Bible Mode of Baptism
Bible Readings
Bible Teaching on Dress
Bible Teachings
A Boy's First Drink
Cease Working Try Believing
The Child's Dream
Chapters of Pure Gold
Christian Giving
The Christian and the Modern Dance
Christianity Teaches Peace
Christian Ordinances
The Church or Society—Which?
The Cleansing Blood
Close Communion
Come
Conversation with Christ
Crucifixion of the "Old Man"
The Demon of Vanity
Dress Charity
A Dying Girl's Request
Eternity in Hell
Excuses
False Security
Fashion
Fashion and Health
The Gold Necklace
Heathenized Christianity
The Holy Spirit
The House of Darkness
Is Ornamental Dress Harmful
Is There Salvation for Me?
Jacob Schoonerhaven on Sanctification
John Three Sixteen
The Last Letter
Life Insurance
Light for Seekers or Perfect Love
Living Above Worldly Amusements
Too Late
Lost! Lost! Lost!
A Lost Soul
The Man That Died for Me
Ministering
Modest Apparel
Moody Against Secretism
A "Name to Live" Rebuked
No One Can Be Certain of That
Objections Answered
Only Believe
The Only Safe Way Out
Open Doors to Hell
For Peace of Conscience Come to Jesus
Prayer
Putting Off Salvation
Questions and Resolutions
A Railway Incident
Restrictions
The Salvation of God
Secret Societies Wrong

Secret Societies
Separation
Serpents in the Wall
Smoking
So Much to Do at Home!
The Source of Spiritual Life
The Supreme Need in Mission Work
Take Warning
Texts for Young Converts
Theaters
The True Ground of Safety and Peace
Trying to Believe
Trying to Save Herself
The Unbarred Door
The Unequal Yoke
Unscriptural Marriage
The Use of Tobacco
Victory
Walking with the World
The Warning
War on Christian Principles
The Way of Salvation
What Faith Is
What Is Conversion?
Which Heaven Do You Prefer
Which Route
Who Is My Brother?
Why Am I Not a Christian?
Why Close Communion?
Why You Should Be a Christian
A Word to Those Who Seek Entire Conformity to the Will of God
A Worker's Dream
Your Photograph

Tracts Published in German

Fuer bekuemmerte Herzen
Der schmale und der breite Weg
Von der Vergebung der Suenden
Das lebendige Opfer
Der Krieg vom Standpunkt des Evangeliums

The extant records and minutes do not reflect a complete picture of the financial operations of the Society. Of the eleven meetings recorded during the fifteen years of the Society's existence, financial reports were given by the Treasurer on three occasions, 1893, 1897, and 1905. During the first five years of operations, during which period the records are most complete, a total of 390,600 copies of tracts were printed and 267,350 were sold or distributed. During this period $649.01 was received from donors for the work, and a profit of $79.48 was realized from the sale of tracts. The work of the Society was carried on by donations. The financial success of the Society depended upon interested donors whose names were printed in the *Herald of Truth* during 1897 (March 1, 15; November 15) and February 15, 1900; it seems that probably not all donations were publicized.

In 1894 (*Herald of Truth,* June 15) G. L. Bender stated that "Some of our congregations in Kansas have been holding quarterly collections for the Tract Work . . . . By way of explanation . . . our tracts are free to any of our congregations for distribution, also to individuals, and especially to such congregations that have been contributing to the cause. The congregation at Roseland, Adams Co., Nebr., organized an Auxiliary Society. This we think is a grand scheme and worthy to be imitated by all our congregations. In this way tracts can be secured . . . in large quantities and any brother or sister desiring to use any can get them direct and thus avoid the expense in sending for them."

The accomplishments of the tract work are difficult to assess from the records. One of its most active promoters, G. L. Bender, writes convincingly about the importance of tract work: "All Christian workers acknowledge the fact that much good can be accomplished by the use of tracts. These little silent preachers often do

much more work for Christ than they get credit for, since they do their work quietly. Time and again we hear of souls being converted by reading a single tract. Just a few days ago we got a letter from a young Bro. encouraging the tract work stating that it is a grand work giving as evidence that through the reading of a tract that he found in an old coat under a bridge he was brought into fellowship with Christ. We are confident that our people, when they once fully understand the tract work and see the good that can be accomplished through the judicious distribution of tracts, will support the cause more readily, both in contribution and distribution" (*Herald of Truth,* June 15, 1894).

In 1897 (*Herald of Truth,* March 1) the treasurer appealed for contributions and stated that:

The work of distributing tracts has been quietly going on, and we have every reason to believe that much good has been done; a number of conversions through the reading of certain of our tracts, have been reported to us by the persons themselves and those persons are now active and earnest workers in the church, and are bringing others to Christ. May not each tract be an "Andrew" going to his brother "Peter" and bringing him to Christ? While we hear nothing special of Andrew afterwards, still in his silent way he brought Peter, who afterwards became the noted apostle and successful worker in the spreading of the Gospel. A lady in Philadelphia handed a certain talented man a tract. This tract led to his conversion. He afterwards became a powerful man in the hands of God in saving souls. Some poor widow's mite may have paid for the printing of this tract. We are gratified to know that our people are supporting our mission and benevolent cause more than ever before, as can readily be seen by the contributions to the different branches of mission work. There are still many who as yet have not given anything, and a number of congregations that have heretofore favored us with their offerings, sent us nothing during the last year. Will you not kindly remember the Tract Fund? The Society is still in debt $32.16 which partly accounts for not having done more in the way of printing new tracts. There also was no one to do the work as it is done gratuitously. We have thirty-three tracts on the list, but some of them are all distributed and should be printed again. We have frequent calls for doctrinal tracts. We should by all means have a complete line of doctrinal tracts setting forth our principles as taught in the Bible.

We also have copy for a number of good tracts for general distribution, but have no means to pay for the printing. Most of the tracts are given away and those that are sold are sold at cost of printing. Will not our brethren and sisters and congregations assist in reviving this work, and thus help to make it a success by giving some of their means? John D. Rockefeller has consented to give $250,000 towards paying the debt of $486,000 of the Baptist Missionary Societies if the church will make up the balance till July 1st 1897. Is there some one who will kindly consent to pay our *small* debt?

In an editorial in the *Herald of Truth* (February 15, 1900) the editor, A. B. Kolb, commented favorably on the work of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society:

> Some people say that the distribution of tracts is almost as good as throwing away the paper. Granted that nine tenths of the tracts distributed are never read and that but one in a hundred makes a good impression, is not that sufficient to warrant the expense? How many tracts the Book and Tract Society and the Mennonite Publishing Co. alone have distributed is not known to the writer, but it is known that by this means, souls have been saved, and that surely is sufficient argument in favor of tract distribution. How many sermons are preached from which there are no "visible results." Should sermons be therefore discarded? Eternity alone will reveal the amount of good which the silent messengers of God's love and saving power are doing as they are distributed by those who are interested in the welfare of men.

Periodicals and Sunday-school Quarterlies

Early in the history of the Society, in 1893, action was taken to publish jointly with the Mennonite Publishing Company of Elkhart, Indiana, a young people's paper. The action designated J. S. Lehman as manager of the paper, M. S. Steiner, editor, and three contributing editors were named: J. S. Hartzler, Abr. Ebersole, and S. F. Coffman. The name given it was *Young People's Paper.* It was published by the Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana, rather than jointly, and Steiner served as its first editor until the end of March, 1895. Since sentiment for the paper also came from Sunday-school conferences, it seems that the contribution which the Society made to it was through its individual members and not by any official responsibility for its publication.

The Society faced the constant problem of publicizing its work. A number of releases and advertisements appeared in the *Herald of Truth,* but this periodical was considered by some as a competitor since its publisher, the Mennonite Publishing Company, managed by John F. Funk at Elkhart, Indiana, had his own line of tracts; he also published books and operated a mail-order business. There was, however, a certain amount of co-operation between the two firms while G. L. Bender of Elkhart served as treasurer of the Society from its founding date until November 4, 1898. Large orders for printing tracts were placed with the Funk plant; in fact, the first printing of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society's constitution was done by Funk's company. A total of 2,400 copies were printed at a cost of nine dollars, according to records in the Funk collection in the Archives of the Mennonite Church at Goshen.

At a special meeting of the Society on May 20, 1899, action was

taken to publish a paper called *Book and Tract Messenger.* J. S. Coffman was given the task of editing the paper and 10,000 copies were ordered printed. Only one number appeared; it was dated September, 1899, and consisted of four pages, 8 x 12 inches. The death of the editor in late 1899 was probably a deciding factor in not continuing its publication. On January 1, 1906, the Mennonite Book and Tract Society issued a four-page weekly, *Beams of Light,* for the primary classes in Sunday school. The paper was edited by A. D. Martin from 1906 to 1908, and continued with the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, after its establishment in April, 1908.

Sunday-school materials were published under the Society's name, begining in 1906 with a *Primary Quarterly.* D. H. Bender was the editor of the *Mennonite Advanced Lesson Quarterly* from its beginning in the first quarter of 1907, it being issued in both English and German. These were continued in both languages by the church-owned Publishing House after it was organized.

In 1908 the Society issued a 64-page *Catalogue and Latest Price List,* size 4 x 6 inches. This catalogue lists 20 pages of Bibles, 15 pages of books, one page of Mennonite Sunday-school lesson helps, 22 pages of mottoes, certificates, and cards used in connection with Sunday-school rewards.

A great deal of emphasis in the catalogue was given to Bibles. Most of the books listed are those from non-Mennonite publishers and sources, although the Society's own books and lesson helps are also listed. No books issued by John F. Funk are listed except for *Menno Simons' Complete Works* and M. S. Steiner's *Pitfalls and Safeguards* (1899).

The list of books in the catalogue include Bible story books for children, dictionaries, commentaries, devotional books, biography, and the Moody colportage books. The *Church and Sunday School Hymnal* was available in four editions: word edition, cloth, leather, and limp cloth. Supplies advertised included blackboards, calendars, maps, marriage certificates, and picture puzzles. The Sunday-school lesson helps listed are: *Advanced Lesson Quarterly, Teacher's Lesson Quarterly, Primary Lesson Quarterly,* Lesson Picture Cards, and Bible Picture Roll.

Among the authors of the many books listed in the catalogue aside from the Society's own publications are: James M. Gray, C. H. Spurgeon, Andrew Murray, Dwight L. Moody, R. A. Torrey, Gipsy Smith, Alfred Edersheim, Hannah W. Smith, Henry T. Sell, G. Campbell Morgan, C. B. Shaw, J. Patterson Smyth, James M. Campbell,

A. D. Crabtree, James Stalker, Charles A. Blanchard, Jessie Hurlbut, Charles Foster, Charles Wagner, C. H. M. McIntosh, F. B. Meyer, S. D. Gordon, Charles G. Finney, Sylvanus Stall, and others. Most of these names still appear in the current catalog of the Mennonite Publishing House.

Book Publishing

There was no restriction in the constitution which prevented the Society from publishing books. One of the objectives was "to provide our poor with edifying reading matter"; another was "to aid our ministers in securing instructive books and Bible helps," and book publishing was implied in the intent "to place our publications into as many city and college libraries as this Society may deem expedient."

The minutes of the meetings of the Society do not provide us with a complete record of book publications. From other fragmentary sources we learn that at least ten books were published. The secretary was authorized to sell books and retain ten per cent commission to defray the expenses for his work. No books were to be sold at a greater profit than ten per cent.[4] The Society took action to "furnish all our ministers books, etc., at cost." The treasurers of the organization, G. L. Bender at Elkhart, Indiana, and John W. Weaver at Spring Grove, Pa., also sold books in addition to the Society's own publications.

From January 1 to November 1, 1905, the sale of books amounted to $1,234.97, and the stock on hand was valued at $2,290.18. Another report shows that the sales for a two-year period ending April 1, 1907, amounted to $8,985.68. The net profits amounting to $201.70 were turned over to various charitable institutions of the church.[5] These funds were disbursed in denominations of mostly five dollars (a few ten) to missions, old people's homes, India missions, educational institutions, and tract work as shown by the treasurer's reports. The report for the fiscal year ending April 1, 1907, shows that $90.00 was paid for royalty on books.

The "Book Examining Committee" consisted of three members, the first of whom were George R. Brunk, Inman, Kansas; S. G. Shetler, Johnstown, Pa.; and D. D. Miller, Middlebury, Indiana. The policy of this committee is explained in the preface of the *Catalogue and Latest Price List* issued in 1908 by the Mennonite Book and Tract Society: "Wishing to handle good books only, it is the purpose of this committee to examine all books catalogued and sold by the

4 *Mennonite General Conference* (report for 1902) 102-3.
5 *Ibid.* (1900) 90-91.

Society. The question has been raised whether the committee reads every book in its examination. This is not done with all the books, as any one of literary knowledge well knows how much time would be required. Various methods have been used to utilize time. Some books, such as *Josephus, Martyrs' Mirror,* etc., are standard works. So far the books by our own authors have been recognized as excellent reading matter. Books about which questions have been raised have been closely examined. Some new books have been carefully read. Some books have been accepted on the recommendation of other brethren." The committee members which made the 1908 statement were S. G. Shetler, A. D. Wenger, and D. H. Bender.

On four different occasions[6] the workings of the Society were examined by the "Committee to Investigate Church Institutions" appointed by the Mennonite General Conference in 1898. The function of this committee was to survey the work of all agencies working or claiming to work for the interests of the church. The original members of the investigating committee consisted of Daniel Kauffman, D. H. Bender, and D. J. Johns. The report of the committee to General Conference in 1900 stated that "the Society is somewhat inactive on account of opposition." Their reports were generally favorable and in 1907 the report states that "the business of the Society is increasing." Several resolutions and attempts were made to have the Society incorporated but this never materialized.

The following ten books and two catalogues were published with the imprint of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society:

1899 *One Hundred Lessons in Bible Study.* By Daniel Kauffman. Spring Grove, Pa., and Elkhart, Ind. 228 pp. (First edition 3,000.)
1902 *Baptism Shown to Be a Ceremony of Consecration . . . .* By L. J. Heatwole. Spring Grove, Pa., and Elkhart, Ind. 19 pp.
1903 *John S. Coffman, Mennonite Evangelist, His Life and Labors.* By M. S. Steiner. Spring Grove, Pa. 139 pp.
1905 *Mennonite Church History.* By J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman. Scottdale, Pa. 422 pp.
1905? *Descriptive Catalog.* Scottdale, Pa. 32 pp.
1906 *A Talk with Our Boys and Girls . . . .* By Daniel Kauffman. Scottdale, Pa. 88 pp. (First edition 6,000.)
1907 *A Talk with Church Members.* By Daniel Kauffman. Scottdale, Pa., 1907. 166 pp. [First published by J. S. Shoemaker in 1900.] (Second edition 4,000.)
1907 *Glimpses of Amish-Mennonite Homes . . . .* By Christ L. Miller. Scottdale, Pa. 341 pp. (First edition 3,000.)
1907 *Mennonites in History.* By C. Henry Smith. Scottdale, Pa. 41 pp. (First edition 3,000.)
1908 *Jacob's Ladder in Ten Sermons.* By J. E. Hartzler. Scottdale, Pa. 260 pp. (First edition 3,000.)

6 *Ibid.* (1900) 90-91; (1902) 102-3; (1905) 108; (1907) 122.

1908 *Moral Training in the Public Schools.* By L. J. Heatwole. Scottdale, Pa. 109 pp. (First edition 2,000.)
1908 *Catalogue and Latest Price List.* Scottdale, Pa. 64 pp.

Meetings of the Society

Besides the organizational meeting, the Society's records refer to eight "annual" meetings (although there is no evidence that the Society met each year) and three special meetings, as follows:

Date	*Kind of Meeting*	*Place*
May, 1892	Organization meeting	No minutes
October 10, 1892	First business meeting	Unknown
October 10, 1893	Second annual	Zion, near Bluffton, Ohio
March 2, 1897	Special	Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart
November 12, 1897	Third annual	Elida, Ohio
September 3, 1898	Special	Chapel Church, New Stark, Ohio
November 4, 1898	Fourth annual	Elkhart Institute, Elkhart, Indiana
May 20, 1899	Special	Elida, Ohio
September 22, 1899	Fifth annual	Martin Rich, Smithville, Ohio
November 12, 1902	Sixth annual	Daniel Brunk, Elida, Ohio
November 16, 1905	Seventh annual	Berlin Church, Ontario
November 14, 1907	Eighth annual	John Slabaugh, Kokomo, Indiana

Minutes of the Society

The minutes of the Society which have been preserved in the vault of the Mennonite Publishing House are printed here for the first time. These minutes do not reflect all that is known about the Society; for more complete sources on the history of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society the reader will note the bibliography at the close of this article.

MINUTES OF THE FIRST BUSINESS MEETING

The members of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society met for the first time in the capacity of a business organization on the 10th of October, 1892, and transacted the following business: J. K. Hartzler of McVeytown, Pa., was chosen temporary Moderator or Chairman; John Blosser of New Stark, Ohio, Secretary.

The Society then proposed the names of J. S. Coffman, Elkhart, Indiana; C. H. Brunk, Harrisonburg, Virginia; Levi Hooley, Kennard, Ohio, and J. S. Lehman, Elkhart, Indiana, for membership. They were adopted members.

The proposed constitution with by-laws was adopted. The following is the said Constitution.

The following permanent officers were chosen: J. S. Lehman, President; David Burkholder, Vice President; J. S. Coffman, Tract Editor; M. S. Steiner, Secretary; G. L. Bender, Treasurer.

The resolutions passed are:

Resolved, that the Society have letter-heads and envelopes printed.

Resolved, that a copy of the Constitution and by-laws with the proceedings of the meetings of October 10, 1892, be printed in tract form and a report of the proceedings be published in the *Herald of Truth.*

REPORT OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

The Society held its second annual meeting, October 10, 1893, at the house of the Zion congregation near Bluffton, Ohio.

After preliminary exercises, the Society began its regular work, by approving the Secretary's report, and adopting the following resolutions.

Resolved, that the Mennonite Publishing Company and the Mennonite Book and Tract Society, jointly publish a paper for young people.

Resolved, that J. S. Lehman be chosen manager of the paper for young people.

Resolved, that Menno S. Steiner be chosen editor of the paper for young people.

Resolved, that J. S. Hartzler, Abr. Ebersole, and S. F. Coffman be chosen as contributing editors of the paper for young people.

Resolved, that the manager and editorial staff of the paper for young people be authorized to make any further appointments when necessary.

Resolved, that the Tract editor be paid for his labor the same rate he received from the Mennonite Publishing Company.

Resolved, that the following persons be hereafter considered regular members of this Society:

S. D. Ebersole, D. H. Bender, E. S. Hallman, E. K. Greenawalt, Charles R. Herr.

The Treasurer's report was read and approved of.

During the year 63,680 tracts were distributed and sold, and 175,600 printed. Tracts on hand at the begining of the year, October 19, 1892, were 26,750, and at the close of the year, or October 7, 1893, there were 138,670.

Cash received during the year amounted to $285.17 and amount paid out $258.02.

The Society, though in its infancy, has received many free-will offerings, and the hearty approval of and co-operation of the brotherhood. The outlook for the future is hopeful and promising beyond the most sanguine expectations. It is our aim to push the work with renewed vigor the coming year and make all efforts at distributing good literature speak mighty for God and His kingdom.

After the Secretary was advised to submit his paper to the editor of the *Herald of Truth* for publication the meeting adjourned.

(On account of the overwork of the Secretary the report has been delayed.)

TREASURER'S REPORT

Cash received during year	
By free-will offerings	$261.42
By sale of tracts	23.75
Total	$285.17
Cash paid out during year	
For printing	$213.18
For Electrotyping	8.36
For postage and express	17.92
For distributing periodicals	5.00

For distributing books	13.50
Total	$257.96
Cash balance in treasury October 7, 1893	$27.15
Total	$285.17
Unpaid bills for printing	$118.00
Cash in treasury	$27.15
Present indebtedness October 7, 1893	$90.85
Resources	
2 Shares Mennonite Publishing Company Stock	$50.00
Value of tracts on hand	191.75
Total	$241.75
Tracts on hand, October 19, '92	26,750
Tracts printed during year	175,600
Total	202,350
Tracts distributed and sold	63,680
Tracts on hand, October 7, '93	138,670

SPECIAL MEETING, MARCH 2, 1897, REPORTED IN *Herald of Truth*, MARCH 15, 1897

A special meeting was called by the President of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society to consider the work of the Society, which has not, for some time, been pushed along as rapidly as many think it should have been. The meeting was held on the 2nd of March, 1897, in the rooms of the Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. The following persons were present: J. F. Funk, J. S. Lehman, J. S. Coffman, Lewis Kulp, A. C. Kolb, C. K. Hostetler, and G. L. Bender.

The work of the Society was reviewed at some length, and plans were considered for more aggressive work. The following resolutions were adopted:

1. That G. L. Bender fill the office of secretary, vacated by the resignation of M. S. Steiner, until the next Annual Meeting of the Society.

2. That all tracts, books, etc., published or distributed by the Mennonite Book and Tract Society, shall be distributed free, and that the Society shall depend upon the voluntary contributions of the people who love the cause for the maintenance of the work.

3. That the Secretary and Treasurer and Tract Editor of the M. B. & Tract Society shall each keep conscientiously an account of the time they devote to the tract work, and be paid at a rate commensurate with the price they receive for other work of a similar kind.

Since the members of the Society are so widely scattered it was next to impossible to call a meeting that would give it full representation. The officers of the Society believe that the work should be urged forward at once without waiting for the action of the Annual Meeting. For this reason this special meeting has been called. The above resolutions are believed to be in perfect harmony with the constitution and by-laws of the Society. The work will be pushed forward according to the above resolutions in the hope that the Annual Meeting will favor and sustain the work as proposed.

We ask the friends of the Book and Tract work to remember that no

price whatever will be charged any one for tracts or books that may be furnished. At the same time the fact must not be forgotten that considerable cost will attend the compilation, arranging, printing, handling and sending out of tracts and books. The postage alone will be a matter of no small consideration. There is at present a small debt resting on the Society which should be paid as soon as possible. A number of tracts are on hand, which will be sent out free as rapidly as ordered. The officers would be glad to send out hundreds of thousands of tracts this spring and summer. This can be done if the friends of the tract work will send in liberal donations, which will be acknowledged as soon as received. The many testimonies showing that souls have been converted and that Christians have been strengthened in the spiritual life by tracts that have fallen into their hands should induce many to lend liberally of their means with which God has so abundantly blessed them. Let us give cheerfully that the Lord may love us, and prosper us in our earthly store, and still more in spiritual grace.

J. S. Lehman, President; J. S. Coffman, Tract Editor.

REPORT OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MENNONITE BOOK AND TRACT SOCIETY

HELD NEAR ELIDA, OHIO, NOVEMBER 12, 1897

The Society was called to order by the President. After prayer the following members responded to the roll call:

John Blosser, New Stark, Ohio; J. S. Lehman, Elkhart, Indiana; M. S. Steiner, Pandora, Ohio; David Burkholder, Nappanee, Indiana; D. H. Bender, Tub, Pennsylvania; J. S. Coffman, Elkhart, Indiana; and George L. Bender, Elkhart, Indiana.

The Secretary's report was read and a motion adopted.

The Treasurer's report was then read and approved which read as follows:

Cash on hand, October 7, '93	$27.15
Cash received by free-will offering ('97)	387.59
Cash for sale of tracts	55.73
Cash received for dividends	12.00
Total	$482.47
Cash paid Mennonite Publishing Company for printing, editing tracts and Sta.	$403.02
Paid M. Pub. Co. Sundries	10.93
Paid postage	38.38
Paid express and freight	3.91
Paid books	12.84
Total	$469.08
Cash balance October 1, '97	$13.39
Amounts of tracts on hand October 7, '93	138,670
Tracts printed from 10-7-93 to 10-1-97	215,000
Total	353,670
Tracts distributed from October 7, '93 to October 1, '97	203,670
Tracts on hand, October 1, '97	50,000

Resources

2 Shares Mennonite Publishing Company Stock	$50.00
Value of tracts on hand, October 7, '97	65.00
Total	$115.00

The different members gave a report of what they had been doing.

Considerable tracts were distributed with good results.

The election of officers resulted as follows:

President, John Blosser; Vice President, D. Burkholder; Treasurer, G. L. Bender; Tract Editor, J. S. Coffman.

On motion it was resolved that the Treasurer elected act as Secretary until further arrangements be made.

The following new members were added: David Garber, Orrville, Ohio; John Weaver, Spring Grove; Aaron Loucks, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; J. F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana; A. D. Wenger, Millersville, Pennsylvania; J. S. Shoemaker, Dakota, Illinois; J. G. Wenger, Harper, Kansas; George R. Brunk, Canton, Kansas; Daniel Kauffman, Versailles, Missouri.

Resolved, that M. S. Steiner, C. Z. Yoder, and John Blosser be appointed as a committee to revise the Constitution and By-Laws, such revision to be presented at the next annual meeting.

Resolved, that an Executive Committee be appointed to conduct the business of the Society in such a way and manner as they think best for the advancement of the work of the Society.

Since many of the ministers are in need of helpful books and are not in a position to get them, and it is the object of this Society to help our ministers in securing such books it was resolved that the Society furnish all our ministers books, etc., at cost.

Resolved, that the Secretary be allowed to sell books and retain a small per cent (10%) as commission for doing the work for the Society so that no free-will offerings be used to pay labor to carry on the work of the Society.

On motion the Society adjourned.

G. L. Bender, Acting Secretary

SPECIAL MEETING, SEPTEMBER 3, 1898

A [Special] meeting of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society was held in the Chapel Church, New Stark, Ohio, September 3, '98.

The meeting was called to order by the President. After the devotional exercise the following members responded to the roll call:

John Blosser, Menno Steiner, J. F. Funk, Aaron Loucks, D. H. Bender, David Garber, C. Z. Yoder, G. L. Bender, and J. S. Coffman.

Each of the members gave a report of the work done.

On motion, the visitors were voted the privilege of members.

The committee on revision of Constitution and By-Laws then reported.

The Society then discussed the different points of the said By-Laws.

At length the revision was left until the next meeting.

Since the relations between the Mennonite Publishing Company and the Mennonite Book and Tract Society are not what they should be a committee was appointed to present a proposition to the Mennonite Publishing Company. The Chairman appointed M. S. Steiner, D. H. Bender, and J. M. Shenk as said committee.

A number of names were then proposed for membership and accepted subject to the new By-Laws:

J. M. Shenk, Elida, Ohio; C. K. Hostetler, Elkhart, Indiana; J. N.

Durr, Martinsburg, Pennsylvania; Elias L. Frey, Pettisville, Ohio; D. S. Yoder, West Liberty, Ohio; L. J. Burkholder, Box Grove, Ontario; J. A. Ressler, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; J. M. Herr, Allen, Pennsylvania; Isaac L. Kulp, Danboro, Pennsylvania.

The Society adjourned to meet November 4, Elkhart, Indiana.

G. L. Bender, Secretary

REPORT OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MENNONITE BOOK AND TRACT SOCIETY

Meeting was held November 4, 1898, at the Elkhart Institute, Elkhart, Indiana.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 7:30 p.m. The following members responded to the roll call: John Blosser, D. H. Bender, J. S. Coffman, J. G. Wenger, Aaron Loucks, David Burkholder, E. S. Hallman, George R. Brunk, C. K. Hostetler, J. M. Shenk, G. L. Bender, Daniel Kauffman, J. S. Shoemaker, A. D. Wenger, and M. S. Steiner.

The President next called for a report from the committee on proposition to the Mennonite Publishing Company.

All visitors present were voted the privilege of members.

D. H. Bender then read the revision of the Constitution and By-Laws and each section was taken up separately. On motion the Constitution and By-Laws were adopted as revised.

SPECIAL MEETING, MAY 20, 1899

Report of a *Special Meeting* of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society held at Elida, Ohio, May 20, 1899, by order of the President. The meeting was opened by singing and prayer after which Brother J. S. Coffman gave the object of the meeting.

The Assistant Secretary reported that many had not signed the Constitution and By-Laws.

On motion it was *Resolved* that all those who have not as yet signed the Constitution and By-Laws should be written to again, and that the time to sign the same be limited to the next annual meeting.

How to get the Society's work before the public was discussed after which the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, that we publish a folder to be sent out.

Resolved, that the folder be called Book and Tract Messenger.

Resolved, that Brother J. S. Coffman be recompensed for his work on this Messenger and also for the editing of 80 different tracts.

Resolved, that the Society at once publish 80 No's of Tracts consisting of 5000 of each No. and also 10,000 Messengers as soon as possible.

Brother Charles D. Breneman of Lima, Ohio, was recommended as a member to be accepted at the next meeting after which the meeting adjourned.

G. L. Bender, Assistant Secretary

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING, SEPTEMBER 22, 1899

Minutes of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society held in Martin Rich's parlor near Smithville, Ohio, September 22, 1899.

After singing one verse of "Holy Spirit, Faithful Guide," Brother J. M. Shenk led in prayer. On motion the minutes of the last annual meeting and of the special held in May, 1899, also the financial report were read and approved.

The following responded to the roll call: John Blosser, Aaron Loucks, C. K. Hostetler, J. M. Shenk.

On motion Brethren E. J. Berkey and Charles D. Brenneman and D. J. Johns were accepted as members of the Society. Brother J. E. Kreider of Osborn, Ohio, was recommended as member of the Society. Next in order was the election of a tract editor. On motion Brother A. D. Wenger was chosen and M. S. Steiner, E. J. Berkey, J. W. Weaver, and Daniel Kauffman were elected assistant editors. Moved and seconded that the Society assume the responsibility of printing 3,000 copies of "One Hundred Lessons in Bible Study." Moved and seconded that the books be printed, folded, sewed and be bound as needed.

The secretaries were appointed to get estimates and let the contract for printing the book. All the members of the Society shall be furnished with a pad of letterheads of the Tract Society. Society adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 12, 1902

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society met at the home of Daniel Brunk near Elida, Ohio, on the evening of the 12th of November, 1902.

After singing and prayer the following responded to the roll call: M. S. Steiner, Columbus Grove, Ohio; C. Z. Yoder, Weilersville, Ohio; J. G. Wenger, Rittman, Ohio; C. D. Breneman, Lima, Ohio; J. K. Hartzler, McVeytown, Pennsylvania; A. D. Wenger, Millersville, Pennsylvania; S. G. Shetler, Davidsville, Pennsylvania; E. S. Hallman, Berlin, Ontario; L. J. Burkholder, Box Grove, Ontario; David Burkholder, Nappanee, Indiana; G. L. Bender, Elkhart, Indiana; E. K. Greenawalt, Ligonier, Indiana; David Garber, Nampa, Idaho.

The former minutes were read and approved.

The Treasurer's report showed the amount of money received since last annual meeting at Elkhart office.

Elkhart office	$140.99
Paid	111.64
Balance	$ 29.35
Received at Spring Grove, Pennsylvania, Office	$169.29
Paid	147.13
Balance	$ 22.16

Amount of books sold at Elkhart office (list price) $3449.00
Amount of books sold at Spring Grove office ———— price $5388.64.

Election of officers resulted as follows:
President, John Blosser, New Stark, Ohio
Vice President, David Burkholder, Nappanee, Indiana
J. W. Weaver, Secretary and Treasurer
G. L. Bender, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer
A. D. Wenger, Tract Editor with the following assistants:
E. J. Berkey, M. S. Steiner, Daniel Kauffman, J. W. Weaver

New members elected: S. G. Shetler, Davidsville, Pennsylvania; J. H. Rupp, Shiremanstown, Pennsylvania; J. A. Brilhart, ————; L. A. Blough, Davidsville, Pennsylvania; J. E. Kreider, Osborn, Ohio; A. D. Martin, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; J. P. Bontrager, Nampa, Idaho; Daniel Burkhard, Roseland, Nebraska; Jonathan Kurtz, Ligonier, Indiana.

After some discussion by members of the Society the following resolutions were adopted:

That the Mennonite Book and Tract Society be incorporated.

J. W. Weaver, A. D. Wenger, C. Z. Yoder, E. S. Hallman, and E. K. Greenawalt were appointed to look after the incorporating of the Society.

A. D. Wenger was appointed chairman of the committee on corporation.

That each member solicit $5.00 more or less toward establishing a publication fund.

Society adjourned to meet at call of President.

G. L. Bender, Assistant Secretary

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 16, 1905

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society met at the Berlin Church, Ontario, Thursday, November 16, 1905.

As neither the president nor the vice president were in attendance D. H. Bender was chosen temporary chairman of the meeting.

The former minutes were read and approved.

The committee on incorporation then reported that as there was but little demand on this point nothing had been done.

After prayer by J. S. Hartzler the roll was called and the following members responded:

E. S. Hallman, Berlin, Ontario; C. K. Hostetler, Goshen, Indiana; D. J. Johns, Goshen, Indiana; J. S. Shoemaker, Freeport, Illinois; J. G. Wenger, George R. Brunk, Inman, Kansas; Daniel Kauffman, Versailles, Missouri; Aaron Loucks, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; D. H. Bender, Springs, Pennsylvania; Isaac L. Kulp, Danboro, Pennsylvania; G. L. Bender, Elkhart, Indiana; D. D. Miller, Middlebury, Indiana; S. G. Shetler, Johnstown, Pennsylvania; M. S. Steiner, Columbus Grove, Ohio; J. M. Shenk, Elida, Ohio; D. S. Yoder; Abram Metzler, West Liberty, Ohio; J. S. Hartzler, Goshen, Indiana; S. G. Lapp, South English, Iowa; A. D. Martin, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; Jonathan Kurtz, Ligonier, Indiana; Daniel Burkhard, Roseland, Nebraska; A. D. Wenger, Millersville, Pennsylvania.

The election of officers resulted as follows: President, D. H. Bender, Springs, Pennsylvania; Vice President, Aaron Loucks, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; Secretary-Treasurer, A. D. Martin, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; Tract Editor, A. D. Wenger, Millersville, Pennsylvania; Assistant Editors: S. G. Shetler, D. D. Miller.

The work of the Society during the time of its existence was reviewed by the former Secretary, G. L. Bender, and Secretary A. D. Martin.

A report of the tract work from January 1, 1905, to November 1, 1905, was read. This report was as follows:

Financial:

Received from John Weaver, funds		$14.74
Received from G. L. Bender, funds		32.73
Received for two shares Mennonite Publishing Company Stock sold to James A. Bell		10.00
Received various donations		14.15
	Total	$ 71.62
Paid for postage		$ 11.53
Balance on hand		$ 60.09
		$ 71.62

Stock:

January 15, 1905	
Kinds of tracts on hand	41
Total number	28,205
November 1, 1905:	
Kinds on hand	10
Total number on hand	11,825
Total number sent out	16,380

The matter of getting out a new series of tracts was then taken up. After some discussion the following resolutions were passed:

That the president name ten persons whose duties it shall be to send a list of tract subjects to the tract editors.

(Names were taken down by A. D. Wenger.)

That anybody and everybody who has a tract they would like to have printed send the same to the tract editors.

The question of membership was next taken up and the following resolutions passed:

That the Constitution and By-Laws be so amended that the qualification of members be that they are in good standing in their home congregations.

That we leave the matter of enrollment of members to the managing board of the Society.

The report of the Book Work was next read which showed that from January 1, 1905, to November 1, 1905, the sales amounted to $1234.97 and that a stock worth $2290.18 was on hand.

After some discussion on the question of finances the following resolutions were passed:

That a Finance Committee of five members be appointed by the President to look after the finances of the Society.

Finance Committee: Aaron Loucks, A. D. Martin, A. D. Wenger, C. Z. Yoder, L. J. Burkholder.

That the Finance Committee be advised to look into the advisability of incorporating the Society and that they be empowered to incorporate and revise the Constitution and By-Laws.

The matter of examining books handled by the Society was next considered and the following resolutions passed:

That a Book Examining Committee of three members be appointed by the President.

Book Examining Committee: George R. Brunk, Inman, Kansas; S. G. Shetler, Johnstown, Pennsylvania; D. D. Miller, Middlebury, Indiana.

After an address by N. E. Byers on the subject of Tracts and Books the Society was adjourned to meet at the call of the Secretary.

A. D. Martin, Secretary

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 14, 1907

Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society held at the home of John Slabaugh, Kokomo, Indiana, November 14, 1907.

The meeting was called to order by the President, D. H. Bender. S. G. Lapp led in prayer.

The following members responded to the roll call: D. H. Bender, David Burkholder, L. A. Blough, L. J. Burkholder, Elias L. Frey, David Garber, J. S. Hartzler, Jacob A. Heatwole, Eli S. Hallman, D. J. Johns, Daniel Kauffman, S. G. Lapp, Aaron Loucks, A. Metzler, D. D. Miller, J. S. Shoemaker, S. G. Shetler, M. S. Steiner, C. Z. Yoder, D. S. Yoder.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A report of the work of the Society since the last meeting was given by the Secretary-Treasurer.

A. D. Wenger, the Tract Editor, asked to be released.

The following motion was passed: Inasmuch as A. D. Wenger is overcharged with work, therefore be it resolved, That the assistant Tract Editors give special attention to this work.

After a little discussion on the need of funds for publishing tracts, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That the members of the Society interest themselves in increasing the funds for the publication of some much needed tracts.

The Committee on Incorporation and Finance reported nothing done.

The matter of the Society's attitude towards the church's ownership and control of her publication interests was next considered. The following resolutions were passed:

1. That we heartily endorse the present movement toward church ownership and control of her church publications.
2. That we favor turning over our organization to the committee on church publication as soon as said committee has its affairs in acceptable shape.
3. That as soon as the committee calls for the business, the President of this Society call a vote of the members on the question of going out of business.
4. That this question be decided by a majority of those voting. Meeting adjourned. A. D. Martin, Secretary

It should be added that the Mennonite Book and Tract Society was not the only agency in the Mennonite Church publishing tracts at this time. The Mennonite Publishing House at Elkhart had its own series, both English and German. Sometimes the same tracts were issued by both agencies. When the Society ceased publication in 1908, the Mennonite Publishing House continued the tract enterprise which the Society had begun, and has expanded it into a much larger program.

Bibliography

Harold S. Bender, *Two Centuries of Mennonite Literature* (Goshen, 1929).

Daniel Kauffman, *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (Scottdale, 1937).

Constitution and By-Laws of the Mennonite Book and Tract Society. Printed copy.

Minutes of the Society and Treasurer's Reports, unpublished. [Parts were reprinted in tract form.]

Herald of Truth (January 15, 1894, pp. 2, 3); (June 15, 1894, p. 2); (for lists of tracts: January 15, 1897, and succeeding issues to November 1, 1897); (October 15, and November 1, 1897); (names of donors: March 1, 15, and November 15, 1897; February 15, 1900). See also (June 15, 1900); (December 5, 1907, p. 453).

Book and Tract Messenger, one issue dated September, 1899.

Catalogue and Latest Price List, Mennonite Book and Tract Society, 1908.

Mennonite General Conference, Proceedings for 1900, 1902, 1905, 1907.

RELIGION IN A JAPANESE RURAL COMMUNITY IN HOKKAIDO

D. E. Lindstrom, G. Asano, H. Kataoka, and Lee Kanagy*

Introduction

Hokkaido offers the opportunity for new settlements of people in Japan second to no other area in the country. Removal by hard-pressed people from the main island to this new country, however, will call for changes in material and social cultural habits. This study shows the kinds of changes made in one area in the east part of Hokkaido by people who did come from the main island. The Mataochi district is a part of the township of Nakashibetsu-machi, a section where there are large areas of undeveloped land suitable for dairying. It was settled in 1920. The original settlers—16 households—came from the mainland (Honshu). In the area to which they came the land itself at one time was covered by a thick layer of volcanic ash. Later a network of grass, bamboo, and shrubs covered the area making it very difficult to farm.

In spite of the unsuitability of the land for farming, the community has been mainly dependent on agricultural production. Methods of cultivation generally employed at first had been the same as in the native places from which the farmers came so that adaptations to the climate have been difficult. For example, from 1927 to 1930 farmers suffered excessively from damage from cold weather. In this period it was said "no crops could be grown, and no harvest could be expected." The condition was so severe at the time that the farm families had no income nor food, resorting at last to eating roots of wild plants. This forced 12 households to move away, all of whom

* This is a study of four rural neighborhoods, with reference to the people's religion, located in the Mataochi district in the prefecture of Hokkaido in northern Japan. The field work and analysis were done by H. Kataoka and G. Asano, Research Fellows of the Rural Welfare Research Institute, International Christian University, Tokyo. The study was made under the direction of D. E. Lindstrom who also rewrote the report. Dr. Lindstrom, Professor of Rural Sociology in the University of Illinois, was on the staff of International Christian University from January, 1953, to December, 1955, during which time he was director of the Rural Welfare Research Institute. Lee Kanagy, Mennonite missionary in Nakashibetsu-cho, Nemuro-koku, Hokkaido, assisted in the selection of the questions and of the area to be surveyed. This was an experimental project to determine whether students trained in the Institute could serve rural missionaries in securing data valuable in directing mission efforts in the area. The study was made in the summer of 1955.

In order to clarify the meaning of certain terms used in the article, it should be said that a prefecture is the largest political subdivision of Japan, corresponding to a state in the United States. Then there are further subdivisions corresponding to American counties and townships. The study here reported has to do with four rural buraku (neighborhood communities) with a total of 161 households, constituting the Mataochi dictrict which is a part of the township of Nakashibetsu-machi. A machi is like a town in America.

Since the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities established a mission in Hokkaido in 1951 where 12 missionaries are now located, the present study is a significant contribution toward an understanding of the religious conditions in the area in which the mission is operating.

finally had to be supported by government aid. Four of the 16 households remained, two of which were supported by government aid. The remaining farmers were forced by circumstances to change their system of agriculture from crop to dairy farming. This change made it possible for them to continue to live in the Mataochi district. Then new settlers came each year and the population gradually increased until at present 161 households live in the district. They are divided into four neighborhood communities: Mataochi buraku, Hokushin buraku, Shinsei buraku, and Hokuko buraku. Mataochi buraku is the only one that was settled before World War II. All three of the others are still in the pioneer stage, Hokushin buraku being the youngest.

The study of the religions of the people was made of 53 of the 161 households of the four buraku (Table 1). These households were selected on the basis of a stratified sampling according to the standard of living. Visits were made to each family with a prepared questionnaire, and answers were secured through personal interviews.

Table 1
Number of Families by Buraku from Whom Data Were Secured on Religion and Community in the Mataochi District, Hokkaido Prefecture, Japan, 1955

Buraku	Number of families
Hokushin	17
Shinsei	10
Hokuko	8
Mataochi	18
Total	53

Relation of Time of Settlement to the Co-operative Spirit and Religious Life

Mataochi buraku is the oldest one of the four communities from which data were secured. Since the character of most Japanese rural communities has been affected by feudalistic traditions from ancient times, especially in regard to the religion and culture, it stands to reason that there is a difference between the newly settled and the old community. Hence, each community is characterized by its settlement history. From this point of view, little sprouts of the feudalistic order begin to grow which have caused the community to suffer from the old feudalistic tradition. This can be seen in Mataochi buraku. Hokuko is the buraku next to Mataochi in the order of settlement history. In this buraku a dairy co-operative had already developed and they are now organized as a community. Shinsei buraku was settled after World War II, so it is still quite new. Unlike the other new settlements, these people seemed to have little co-operative spirit. Hokushin buraku is also a new community, and it is still in the

reclamation stage. In this buraku, however, there is an industrious people and an ardor for land reclamation, especially among 16 pioneer households who came as a group from Gunma prefecture in 1953. They show good teamwork and generally perform as a completely organized community.

Hokushin and Hokuko have no such traditional backgrounds as can be seen in other Japanese communities which suffered from feudalistic traditions. Moreover, these two communities have no tutelary god. This is very significant, for it leaves the way open for mission work. It may be that later a tutelary god may be set up by them the same as was done in other communities, by traditional pressure, unless mission work is started. Most of the people want some spiritual security and they will search for it in some religion, but now they have little time to search actively. The interest in Christianity is higher in this area than in other districts in Japan, as can be seen by comparison with other studies of the Institute.[1] This comes from the development of mass communication in this district; most of the people have radios and through them they have the opportunity to hear preaching every week in the Mataochi district which is served by the Mennonite Church in Nakashibetsu-machi.

Rice Farming and the Feeling for Life in the Community

Rice farming is very important for Japanese people, especially for farmers. It is felt that Japanese people cannot be influenced easily to change to other crops. Yet in the Mataochi district, which is not suited to rice, dairy farming has been developed. Seven out of 10 of the households in the district have never ventured upon rice farming, even though it can be grown. At first, great efforts were put forth to grow rice, but now most of the farmers have no interest in rice farming (Table 2). This feeling is strong in Mataochi which has a long history and which is the oldest settlement in the area. Among more recent settlers, as in Shinsei, half the people still have considerable interest in rice farming, most of whom came from rice production areas in Honshu. Yet in the whole of the Mataochi district nearly 85 per cent do not care if rice is never again grown, and even in Shinsei this is true of 70 per cent of the households. A few still have a great affection for it even though they have given it up.

Rice culture is not essential to the development of a love for the community, for two thirds of the households in the community say they have much affection for their community. Only 15 per cent dis-

1 Studies of "Rural Community Change in Japan." Unpublished manuscript. Rural Welfare Research Institute, International Christian University, Tokyo.

like the community. Thirteen per cent have some feelings of dislike for the community but they cannot leave their land. Between five

Table 2
Feelings of Householders in Fifty-three Households as to Rice Culture, Community and Peasant Life in Mataochi District, Hokkaido Prefecture, Japan, 1955

Feeling for life in the community	All areas	Hokushin	Shinsei	Hokuko	Mataochi
Number of households	53	17	10	8	18
Would farm rice if it could be grown	16	5	5	2	4
Resigned to not growing rice	8	1	3	2	2
Do not mind if rice is never grown	45	16	7	6	16
Like life in the community	35	11	3	4	17
Do not like the community	8	3	3	1	1
Must bear with living here	7	1	3	3	0
Do not know	3	2	1	0	0
Like peasant life	48	16	9	6	17
Do not like peasant life	3	0	1	1	1
Do not know	2	1	0	1	0

and six per cent seem to have no opinion on this point. The highest number having an affection for the community is in the buraku settled for the longest time, Mataochi, in which only one said he did not like it. This is very natural because these people are now settled and have progressed through the pioneer stage. In the more recently settled area, Shinsei, only three of the households say they like the community. Three say they dislike it, while three are resigned to living there, and one household does not know. On the other hand, in the new settlement of Hokushin, 11 of the 17 households like the community and have much affection and hope for their own land, and half of the eight in Hokuko like the community. Peasant life as experienced by these 53 households appeals to 48 of them. Only three dislike the life and two were noncommittal.

The Religious Observances of the People

Two communities have deities:[2] Mataochi buraku and Shinsei buraku. The origin of the deities in Shinsei buraku was Musa buraku which is located about 24 kilometers from Mataochi buraku. This community was settled earlier than any of the other communities in the Mataochi district; so the pioneers from Shinsei buraku brought their god from Musa. The present place of worship is called the Shinsei shrine. In Mataochi there are two deities. One, the Takuhoku shrine, proclaims the god of the north pioneer, and the other is the Amaterasu-oomikami shrine. The Takuhoku shrine was brought from the shrine which existed in the pioneer settlement (Takushoku-jisshu-sho) located at Teshikage-machi in Nemuro koku,

2 The traditional religions of Japan are Shinto and Buddhism. Shinto gods are looked to for protection in this life while Buddhism is a means of soul salvation. In Shinto there are the village shrines and the family gods, called tutelary gods (uzigami), John F. Embree, *A Japanese Village* (London, 1946) 165.

about 50 miles to the south and east. The Amaterasu-ohomikami shrine was brought from the mainland by the first settlers of Mataochi buraku. The other two communities, Hokushin and Hokuko, have no deities. It is evident that the community is still in the process of being settled.

The festival and celebration of each shrine is held twice yearly. Almost all of the people in each community attend the shrine to celebrate the spring and autumn festivals, to pray when there is illness in the family, to formalize the passage from youth to adulthood or from adulthood to old age, to seek better prices for crops, or to ask for other special favors. Their worship or prayers are followed by entertainment such as motion pictures, drama, and folk plays. The whole celebration is more of a social observance than a spiritual or religious worship. Yet the festival is one of the most important annual observances in the life of these people.

Temples. There are only a few temples in these communities, most being in nearby Nakashibetsu-machi (Table 3). The people visit the Buddhist temple at the time of the festivals of the equinox. About 30 per cent of the households belong to temples in the whole of Mataochi district; 5.8 per cent in Hokushin; 10 per cent in Shinsei; 12.5 per cent in Hokuko; and 72.2 per cent in Mataochi. Many belong to the several temples in Nakashibetsu. It is natural that there is a high percentage of temple affiliations in Mataochi buraku because

Table 3
Number of Households in Mataochi District, Hokkaido Prefecture, Japan, Claiming a Tutelary Deity and Belonging to a Temple, 1955

Area	Number of households	Tutelary deity		Temple	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Hokushin	17	0	17	1	16
Shinsei	10	8	2	1	9
Hokuko	8	0	8	1	7
Mataochi	18	15	3	13	5
Total	53	23	30	16	37

it has a longer history of settlement than is true of other communities. In each of the three other communities, however, the percentage of affiliations is low.

Tutelary gods. Eighty-three per cent of the people in Mataochi buraku have a tutelary god. The rest of the households, in spite of living in the same community, do not claim a tutelary god (Table 3). In Shinsei, 80 per cent of the households have a tutelary god, but in the whole of the Mataochi, 57 per cent of the families have no tutelary god. Since these gods influence individual families, it is clear that they do not have a strong hold on the people.

The family grave. Most families in Japan keep up family graves.

But only 32 per cent of the households in the Mataochi district have graves in the district. The others maintain graves in other places: 43 per cent on the mainland (Honshu), and 21 per cent at other places in Hokkaido. Four per cent have no graves (Table 4). The more recent the settlement the more likely are graves to be outside the community. About 82 per cent of the Hokushin people have family graves in their native country of Honshu, of which 95 per cent are in Gunma. Forty per cent of the Shinsei people have graves in Honshu, 20 per cent in the local community, and 30 per cent in Hokkaido outside the local community, while 10 per cent have no family grave. Of the households in Mataochi which have graves, 61 per cent have graves in Mataochi and 11 per cent in Honshu.

Table 4
Location of the Family Grave Plot for Fifty-three Households in the Mataochi District, Hokkaido Prefecture, Japan, 1955

Area	Number of households	Local community	Hokkaido outside community	Honshu or homeland	None	Ties cut with homeland
Hokushin	17	1	1	14	1	11
Shinsei	10	2	3	4	1	7
Hokuko	8	3	2	3	0	1
Mataochi	18	11	5	2	0	4
Total	53	17	11	23	2	23

Maintenance of religious ties. Most of the people maintain religious ties with the place from which they came, for 57 per cent have kept their religious relationships with their native place. Interestingly enough, the more recent settlers cut religious relations with their native lands in higher percentages than do older settlers: 65 per cent of the Hokushin households and 70 per cent of the Shinsei cut religious ties with the place of origin; but only 13 per cent of those in Hokuko and 22 per cent Mataochi did so.

Native Religious Beliefs

In Japan there are two principal popular religions: Buddhism and Shintoism (Table 5). Numerically, Buddhism has the largest following of any Japanese religion although Shintoism is the indigenous religion of Japan. In the Mataochi district, 66 per cent belong to Buddhism, 8 per cent to Shintoism, and the other 26 per cent have no religious affiliation. The percentages vary in the different communities: about half in Hokushin, 10 per cent in Shinsei, and 50 per cent in Hokuko profess no religion. But in Mataochi there is no one who has no religion. It is apparent that the newly settled communities where a high percentage had cut religious relations are also the ones in which there is a high percentage of those who have no religion.

Table 5
Family Religions of Fifty-three Families in Mataochi District, Hokkaido Prefecture, Japan, 1955

Area	Number of households	Buddhism	Shintoism	None	No answer
Hokushin	17	8	1	8	0
Shinsei	10	6	2	1	1
Hokuko	8	4	0	4	0
Mataochi	18	17	1	0	0
Total	53	35	4	13	1

Belief in Christianity. The problems of holding to the common religions which concern the ordinary Japanese are not like the problems of taking up Christianity. This is because it is traditional to have family religious observances, whereas to embrace the Christian religion often means cutting away from traditional family customary usages. Hence, it is easier for those not carrying on the old observances to make the break. A surprisingly large percentage of those in most communities had heard of the Christian religion. In the whole district, only 36 per cent had not heard about it. The percentages of those in each community who had heard about Christianity were: 71 per cent in Hokushin, 70 per cent in Shinsei, 87.5 per cent in Hokuko, and 44 per cent in Mataochi (Table 6).

The interest in Christianity is shown by the percentages who felt that it is much needed. Only 11 per cent of the households in the entire Mataochi district recognized that Christianity is much needed; yet 47 per cent wanted to know more about it, and only 19 per cent

Table 6
Number and Percentage of Households in Mataochi District, Hokkaido Prefecture, and Five Other Communities Showing Interest in the Christian Faith, 1955

Area	Number of households	Had heard about it	Feel it much needed	Want to know more about it	Not much interested	Know nothing about it
Hokushin	17	12	2	12	1	2
Shinsei	10	7	0	3	2	5
Hokuko	8	7	0	5	3	0
Mataochi	18	8	4	5	4	5
Total	53	34	6	25	10	12
Percentage	100	64	11.3	47.2	18.9	22.6
Percentage in 5 other communities*	100	17.7	2.2	11.5	37.5	48.6

* 504 households sampled in 1954 from Ebitsu, Hokkaido; Yokogoshi, Niigata; Karako, Saitama; Obie, Okayama; and Honami, Kyushu, by the Rural Welfare Research Institute, International Christian University, Tokyo.

did not have much interest in this new religion. The rest (23 per cent) knew nothing about it. The figures varied in the different communities: 12 per cent in Hokushin and 22 per cent in Mataochi recognized that Christianity is much needed; 71 per cent of the households in Hokushin, 30 per cent in Shinsei, 62 per cent in Hokuko, and 28 per cent in Mataochi wanted to know more about Christianity; a little less than 6 per cent in Hokushin, 20 per cent in Shinsei,

37.5 per cent in Hokuko, and 22 per cent in Mataochi are not much interested in Christianity; 12 per cent of the households in Hokushin, 50 per cent in Shinsei, and 28 per cent in Mataochi know nothing about Christianity. In Hokuko there is no one who knows nothing about Christianity. The influence of the nearby Mennonite Mission can be seen as these figures are compared with those of five other rural communities in scattered portions of Japan (see Table 6 and footnote a).

Belief in a Future Life

Questions were asked as to the individual ideas and conceptions of a future life. Very few expressed an interest in life after death. Ninety-six per cent of all households work for the comforts of present-day life, 2 per cent work for life beyond death, and 2 per cent work for the comforts of this life and for life after death (Table 7). But not all of those who work for the comforts of life mean that they work in order to get present-day common comforts; rather they work to build up foundations for the next generations, for this is a comfort of life for them and one of their ardent desires. When asked specifically regarding life after death, 55 per cent said they did not believe in it, and 32 per cent replied that they did not know about life after death. Of the seven persons who believe in life after death, one lives in Hokushin and six in Mataochi.

Table 7
Beliefs of Householders in Fifty-three Households in Mataochi District of Hakkaido Prefecture, Japan, 1955

Opinion concerning beliefs	All areas	Hokushin	Shinsei	Hokuko	Mataochi
Number of households	53	17	10	8	18
Work for comfort of life today	51	17	9	8	17
Work for life after death	1	0	0	0	1
Both	1	0	1	0	0
Believe in life after death	7	1	0	0	6
Do not believe in life after death	29	5	9	4	11
Do not know	17	11	1	4	1
Believe in heaven	4	0	0	1	3
Do not believe in heaven	29	6	8	3	12
Do not know	20	11	2	4	3
Have thought of heaven or hell	18	9	3	2	4
Have not thought of heaven or hell	35	8	7	6	14

When asked about heaven, 7.5 per cent said they believe in a heaven, 55 per cent said they do not believe in heaven, and 37.5 per cent did not know what they believed on this point. The above data are of the whole of the Mataochi district. Differences were considerable concerning these beliefs as between the communities: 35 per cent in Hokushin, 80 per cent in Shinsei, 67 per cent in Mataochi, and 38 per cent in Hokuko have no belief in heaven. Evidently they have no definition of heaven but they have very complex ideas about

it. Some of them consider it from the Buddhist conception and some consider it in terms of life around them: if there should be good crops, they consider it heaven; but if there should be bad crops, they consider it hell. Most people in the district have given little thought to heaven or hell. Thirty-four per cent of the households in Mataochi district have thought about the matter. Although 14 out of 18 people in Mataochi buraku had not thought about it, yet only five claimed to know nothing about Christianity (Table 6). It is significant that in this community four households felt Christianity is much needed and that the same number of households also had given thought to heaven and hell.

Effect of belief on harvest and community ethics. Religious beliefs affect planting and harvesting practices for about 30 per cent of all households; in 66 per cent of the households religious beliefs do not affect cultivation; and the rest (4 per cent) do not know about it (Table 8). Half of those in Mataochi, 24 per cent in Hokushin, 20

Table 8
The Role of Religion in Planting and Harvesting and in Community Ethics for Householders in Fifty-three Households in Mataochi District, Hokkaido Prefecture, Japan, 1955

	All areas	Hokushin	Shinsei	Hokuko	Mataochi
Number of households	53	17	10	8	18
Religion plays a part in harvesting and planting	16	4	2	1	9
Religion does not play a part in harvesting and planting	35	11	8	7	9
Do not know as to part religion plays	2	2	0	0	0
Religion has an effect on community ethics	8	1	0	0	7
Religion does not have an effect on community ethics	38	15	8	6	9
Do not know as to part religion plays	7	1	2	2	2

per cent in Shinsei, and 12.5 per cent in Hokuko believe that religion has an effect on farming. The manner in which religion affects farming is not related to the teachings. The farmers use religious observances so as to provide for themselves a sense of security in harvest or protection against natural conditions over which they have no control. This applies alike to agricultural production and to the whole of life.

Community ethics are affected by religious belief only for 15 per cent of the households. No attention is paid to this factor by 72 per cent. No reaction came from the others. Only one person in Hokushin and seven in Mataochi believe religion has an effect on this in the community. Even in Shinsei, where there is a tutelary god, 80 per cent of the households reported there was no effect of this god on ethics, and the others were hesitant to commit themselves. This would indicate that the tutelary god has little effect or power of con-

trol over the ethical life of the community. In the case of Mataochi, where 39 per cent of the households recognized the effect on ethics, the explanation is that the existence of a tutelary god is the original stimulation for teamwork among the people who have the same tutelary deity.

Worship of the Emperor

Emperor worship is said to have disappeared in postwar Japan. However, about 47 per cent of the households in the Mataochi district believe in emperor worship. Only 4 per cent of them say emperor worship is not a good thing; 43 per cent hold to a middle ground on this question; nearly 6 per cent do not know, or have no interest in the question (Table 9). Over two thirds of those in Mataochi uphold emperor worship. In Hokushin and Hokuko, 53 per cent and 62 per cent, respectively, held a middle course or attitude on emperor worship. Even though the emperor stated after the war that he is not divine, 51 per cent of the people in Mataochi district still revere him. A little more than half of these 51 per cent worship the emperor as a god and a little less than half respect him as a symbol of Japan. The numbers holding the emperor in reverence were especially high in Mataochi (67 per cent) and in Shinsei (60 per cent). In Hokushin only 35 per cent and in Hokuko 13 per cent

Table 9
Beliefs as to Emperor Worship on the Part of Householders in Fifty-three Households in Mataochi District of Hokkaido Prefecture, Japan, 1955

Nature of worship	All areas	Hokushin	Shinsei	Hokuko	Mataochi
Number of households	53	17	10	8	18
It is good for Japan to worship the emperor	25	6	6	1	12
It is not good for Japan to worship the emperor	2	0	1	1	0
One must hold a middle ground on this	23	9	3	5	6
Do not know or have no interest	3	2	0	1	0
Japanese people should worship divine Emperor	14	4	2	1	7
Japanese people should worship human emperor	13	3	4	2	4
Religion should be the people's object of worship	6	1	2	1	2
Morality, humanity, man, and oneself should be the objects	4	2	2	0	0
Do not know or have no interest	16	7	0	4	5

worship the emperor as a god. Emperor worship in Japan, one may conclude, is by no means a thing of the past, especially among old established residents.

Summary and Interpretations

There has been a great deal of discussion in Japan as to the possibility of settling people from the main island of Japan, Honshu, on

the northern island of Hokkaido where farming conditions are quite different. What happens to the old religious beliefs of such people is a serious question, especially in the unsettled state of postwar Japan. Although this study, carried on by research fellows trained in the International Christian University Rural Welfare Research Institute, is limited as to the size of the sample (33 per cent of the households in one area were interviewed), yet it does show what has happened to these households and this may be indicative of what would happen if other settlements were to be opened in the area.

The first important fact is that the first settlers had to change from rice to dairy culture in order to survive and become rooted in the community. Other households coming in after World War II made the same adjustments quite readily, evidently, although some reluctantly gave up their old rice culture. The result is that most of them like the community and practically all like the kind of farm life in which they are now engaged.

A second fact is that the earlier settlers naturally held on to the feudalistic and familistic ways more tenaciously than did the households coming later. Some of the later settlers even left their traditional gods behind. Those in one community, especially, have developed a splendid spirit of co-operation and industry in working together to build a new life in the new environment. Hence, both material and social-cultural changes have come as a result of coming into this new area as pioneers.

A third fact of importance is the change in religious observances and beliefs. More than half the households have no tutelary deity and belong to no temple. Most of these are in the more recently settled communities. Almost half have even cut their religious ties with the home communities, leaving the household grave "back home." This does not mean that these communities are devoid of religious worship. When religious festivals or celebrations are held, almost all of the people come out. Some, of course, pray for protection, for example, against illness. But worship of family gods is no longer carried on by most, for over half have no tutelary god. It is the shrine and temple worship in which the people engage, for two thirds still look upon themselves as Buddhists. Yet, a fourth profess no religion, all of these being in the newly settled communities.

The influence of a nearby Christian mission, opened by the Mennonites in 1951, can be seen in these communities, for two thirds had heard of this new religion. This can be compared with less than one fifth in five other rural communities scattered over the country, who reported they had heard of Christianity. Almost three fifths of

those questioned felt Christianity is much needed or that they wanted to know more about it. This fact, it would seem, should be a challenge to Christian missionaries who previously have not advanced far in rural areas of Japan. Interest in a new religion, however, probably is related to moral conditions more than to life after death, for only seven out of 53 persons stated that they had a belief in life after death. Heaven and hell are defined in terms relating to present conditions of living. Few have thought much about the matter. Evidently those who know something about Christianity were the ones most concerned about life after death, although conceptions of it are confused with the Buddhist conception.

The hold of the old religions is seen in their effect on how people relate them to planting and harvesting: to attain assurance of a harvest and protection against destructive elements over which they have no control. Nor do the religious beliefs relate particularly to or have an effect on the ethics of the community. The only effect seen is that people with the same god or belief are thus stimulated to co-operate along other lines. Emperor worship is still very much alive in rural Japan, evidently. Even though the emperor has renounced divinity, 47 per cent of the households interviewed believe emperor worship to be a good thing; and slightly more than one half of this group believe the emperor should be worshiped as divine. This is particularly true in the older settled areas. It may be that it is not the man himself that is worshiped but the office which the Japanese still regard as having direct communication with the original legendary divine being, the Goddess Amaterasu.

It may be concluded that any approach by Christian missionaries to Japanese rural people must recognize the hold that old religions still have upon them. Japanese farmers can be interested in Christianity and when they learn about it, they want to know more about it. But, it must be brought to them in terms of their own culture and beliefs. Those who have lost their enthusiasm for the old religions are, of course, the most open to the meaning of Christianity and its relation to their way of life. These, if won to Christianity, would lead the way to others.

RESEARCH NOTES

THE AMISH THEME IN RECENT AMERICAN THEATRICALS

Charles Burkhart

It is well known that the subject of the Anabaptists (or their later descendants) has frequently caught the interest of secular writers, artists, and journalists. Anabaptists have figured in numerous European novels and plays and even in one opera, Meyerbeer's "The Prophet." In America, novels such as *Tillie, the Mennonite Maid, Sabina,* and *Straw in the Wind,* as well as numerous articles in picture magazines such as *Life,* are cases in point. It is not surprising, then, that this theme should have recurred again in three recent theatrical productions, the musical comedies "Plain and Fancy" and "By Hex," and the motion picture "Violent Saturday." Nor is it surprising that all of these should have dealt with the Amish; for of all the contemporary groups of Anabaptist origin, they are among the most unusual and picturesque and, therefore, the most suitable for popular dramatic treatment. To my knowledge, the theme of the Amish has never before been treated in either of these particular media. Through these productions, thousands of Americans have heard about the Amish for the first time.

"Plain and Fancy" opened at the Mark Hellinger Theatre in New York City on January 27, 1955, and closed in the summer of 1956. It is still being produced, however, by small theatrical companies in other parts of the country. The play was written by Joseph Stein and Will Glickman, the texts of the songs by Arnold B. Horwitt, and the music composed by Albert Hague. The complete text was published in the July 1956 issue of the magazine *Theatre Arts.*

The story of "Plain and Fancy" is introduced by a young New York couple who have driven to Bird-in-Hand, Pennsylvania, to sell a piece of farm property which one of them has inherited. They are welcomed to an Amish home where a wedding is in preparation and find themselves both bewildered and delighted by the charming simplicity of the Amish people. Suspense is built up when it is discovered that the true love of the Amish bride-to-be is not the groom, but the groom's brother, who is on bad terms with the group because of his hot temper. Though he is temporarily "shunned," he finally redeems himself by an act of charity, is welcomed back, and wins the girl. The play ends on a happy chorus:

> Plenty of Pennsylvania! . . .
> Sweet land of meadows golden
> And fat red barns for holdin'
> What goes to town on market day,
> Plenty of anything—plenty of everything
> In Pennsylvan-i-ay!

Considerable research was done by the authors in order to reproduce the authentic dress, English speech, and social customs of the Amish. The result contains few serious errors, though one occasionally gains the impression that the authors have strained rather hard for picturesqueness. Their attitude, however, is fair and sympathetic and the point is made that the Amish are an honest, peace-loving folk. For example, at one point in the play a chorus of Amishmen sing:

> Plain we live . . . .
> Strangers look on us and call us strange
> But cheat we don't and steal we don't
> And wars we don't arrange . . . .
> To God we pray to keep us plain.

It is true, of course, that the authors' chief aim is not to instruct but to entertain. Various comical situations arise from the mutual misunderstanding of the naive Amish and the worldly young New Yorkers. The latter, particularly the young man, regard the Amish with increasing envy for their happy, simple way of life. Here lies the reason, I believe, for the great success which "Plain and Fancy" enjoyed in New York. The audiences naturally identified themselves with the young New Yorkers in the play and perhaps joined them in their envy of the Amish ability to live free of the worries and annoyances of big city life. The authors have greatly overidealized Amish life in order to produce this effect. Their point is summed up by one of the songs in the second act, sung by the Amish women as they busily make shupp-noodles, knockwurst, and shmeer-kase for the wedding feast:

> Once upon a time there was a country mouse,
> Paid a visit to her relative, the city mouse,
> But she didn't care a bit for her city house
> And her heart was full of pity for the city mouse.
> I felt the same as she,
> A city mouse I'd never want to be. . . .
>
> City mouse, city mouse, full of care,
> What dress to buy? What dress to wear?
> Country mouse, country mouse, worries not,
> She wears the only one she's got.
>
> City mouse, city mouse, fuss and fret,
> What should she be—blond or brunette?
> Country mouse reckons a diff'rent way,
> She's happy if it don't turn gray. . . .
>
> City mouse mother in such a stew,
> Raising one child so hard to do.
> Country mouse, country mouse, she does fine,
> Number one takes care of number nine.
> No complicated gadgets in the kitchen,
> No complicated notions in the head. . . .
>
> City mouse, city mouse, one fine day,
> Pack up your bag, tiptoe away.
> Look around till you've found a country spouse
> And settle down to be a country mouse!

The music in "Plain and Fancy" is not particularly distinguished, as musical comedies go, and the total effect is one of rather frenzied gaiety. To anyone well acquainted with the Amish, of course, the idea of their singing and dancing to a lively jazz orchestra would be incongruous indeed.

The second musical comedy, "By Hex," seems to have been little more than a rather weak reworking of some of the ideas in "Plain and Fancy." Written by John Rengier, with music by Howard Blankman and directed by Bill Penn, this work opened at the Tempo Playhouse in New York on June 18, 1956, and closed several weeks later. In this play, a young Amishman and a girl (a bishop's daughter) both rebel and are "shunned." The two are brought together, repent, and return to the fold. The *New York Times* of June 20 noted that this play made the most of

the "stark social customs," "quaint figures of speech," and "severe way of dressing" of the Amish, but that the plot lacked "dramatic suspense."

Unlike the two musical comedies, the tone of the film "Violent Saturday" is serious. In this case the Amish do not provide the chief theme, but play only a minor, though very significant role. Written by Sydney Boehm and directed by Richard Fleischer, this film was released in May, 1955, by Twentieth Century Fox and shown throughout the country during the following summer. It employed a number of well-known actors and received very favorable critiques in the press as an unusually well written and effective example of its type.

The story of "Violent Saturday" concerns an attempt by three criminals to rob a bank in a small town in eastern Pennsylvania. Immediately after the robbery they plan to hide in the barn of an Amish farmer. They consider this idea their master stroke, since the peaceful Amish would be likely to offer no resistance and also because an Amish farm would, they think, be the last place where the police would look for them. But their plan backfires. They are traced to their hide-out; shots are exchanged, and at the height of the battle the Amish farmer, who until this point has taken no part and has permitted himself and his family to be abused, saves the life of an innocent man by plunging a pitchfork into the back of one of the robbers, killing him on the spot.

It would be interesting to know how many of the thousands of moviegoers who watched this scene had any inkling of the principles involved. At least the point was not lost on the film review of *Time* magazine, who wrote in the issue of May 16, 1955: ". . . as (the Amishman) strikes, his eyes convey the heart-stricken awareness, as his lips convey the unshakable determination, of an Abraham commanded by a higher power to destroy a life that is dear to him. In this scene, the morality of violence is brought vividly into question, and the question has seldom been answered with more pith and natural majesty." Of course this "answer" is that nonresistance does not work. This idea is nothing new, but it has seldom been expressed in such sensational and widely communicated form and as such, "Violent Saturday" is adverse propaganda from the point of view of pacifists.

It cannot be said that these theatrical works deal only with superficial aspects of Amish life, nor that they contain intentional criticism. Rather, they are sympathetic comments on the Amish from the point of view of the world.

BOOK REVIEW

The Youth Hymnary. Edited by Lester Hostetler. Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1956. Pp. 275. $2.25.

Late in 1956 the Faith and Life Press of the General Conference Mennonite Church published *The Youth Hymnary,* edited by Lester Hostetler. This is a valuable supplement to the *Mennonite Hymnary* (1940), edited by Walter Hohmann and Lester Hostetler. *The Youth Hymnary* is designed for a broad age group, ranging "from about nine years to twenty-five." Its function is equally broad, the material covering the needs for worship services in church, home, and camp. The range of difficulty extends from the simplest congregational music to rather complex works which could challenge a good junior or youth choir. The choice of hymns rests on the theory that young people should be trained to prefer works of permanence which will enrich their mature as well as early years. Altogether the hymnary contains 303 selections, including 106 hymns, 24 spirituals, 22 Gospel songs, 31 carols, 77 part songs, 15 responses and choruses, 24 canons, and a few miscellaneous numbers.

The hymns are classified according to various aspects of Christian faith and life. A number of chorales and metrical Psalms are included along with the large group of familiar Protestant hymns. Thirteen of the hymns are decorated and varied with descants. The 24 spirituals are largely the arrangements of Harold Moyer. They are simple and clean four-voice works, completely free from the cloying and spectacular effects of most arrangements of spirituals.

The editor's inclusion of only 22 numbers in the Gospel song category indicates something of his interest in maintaining a high quality of materials. Some of these—"My Jesus, I Love Thee" and "More Love to Thee," for example—are much more valid religious expressions than the average Gospel song, as the reviewer conceives of the type. On the other hand, a few of the 106 hymns, such as "What a Friend We Have in Jesus" and "Rock of Ages," are hardly distinct in style from the selections in the Gospel song section, so that the need for the latter category is not quite clear. The dilemma points up our rather nebulous definitions of the Gospel song. Hymns with completely incongruous text and music, the waltz-like "Jesus, Keep Me Near the Cross," for example, are rare in this collection.

Twenty of the 31 carols of the next section come from the *Oxford Book of Carols.* Contemporary British composers, Martin Shaw, Ralph Vaughan Williams, among others, are responsible for imaginative and tasteful arrangements of the old melodies. Many of the carols are rich enough to sustain the interest of a choir.

The 77 part songs are designed to fill the needs of a wide variety of groups. The gamut of voice parts is two to four; ranges extend from equal voiced to soprano-alto-bass pieces. A few hymns include parts for string accompaniment. Many of them solve the problems of two and three part writing with fluent voice lines and a minimum of static effects. Twenty-four canons for various occations form the main bulk of the final section.

With the publication of a new hymnal one cannot escape noticing that Mennonite music, as well as Protestant church music generally, is bound to the style of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Cadence cliches are much overused; harmonic progressions tend to be stale in mid-twentieth-century surroundings, except in the case of the finest of the hymns. Forms seldom speak with freshness. Music from various periods is rearranged to conform to a uniform attitude toward style. Per-

haps it is the unusual breadth of styles represented by *The Youth Hymnary* which encourages this reviewer to probe into further possibilities. The next Mennonite hymnal might include some of the best Reformation music: the metrical Psalms of the Huguenots in their original form rather than in eighteenth-century dress; the earliest anthems of the English church; the simplest of the polyphonic settings of early Lutheran chorales. Then twentieth-century idioms and approaches to composition should also be appearing in the music of the church.

These suggestions should not detract from the excellence of the present volume. The editor has fulfilled admirably his desire to enrich Mennonite church music. He has offered a tangible expression of his love and concern for young people.

Goshen College MARY OYER